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# A HISTORY OF THE ARABS IN THE SUDAN

IN TWO VOLUMES

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# A HISTORY OF THE ARABS IN THE SUDAN

## AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE WHO PRECEDED THEM AND OF THE TRIBES INHABITING DÁRFŪR

BY

H. A. MACMICHAEL, D.S.O.

SUDAN POLITICAL SERVICE

VOLUME I

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1922

Mr de Herbelot pretends that the *Arabs of the Deſart* exceed the other *Arabs* in Wit and Cunning....Be this as it will; both the one and the other are mightily fond of the Nobleneſs of their Extraction.

The Chevalier D'Arvieux, *Travels in Arabia the Desart* (1718 A.D ), pp. 96–7.

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# INTRODUCTION

ONE of the first steps which anyone desirous of studying the history of a people naturally takes is to consult such native records as may be extant and appraise their importance as evidence.

Following this course in the case of the Sudan Arab one is surprised to find that a large proportion of the population is in possession of scraps of paper which they regard as having a historical value. The owner often cannot read, but he is prepared to produce for inspection a handful of disreputable papers, torn, frayed and filthy. Some turn out to be unintelligible contracts concerning the cultivation of a plot of land, some are extracts from a manual of prayer and ablution, some are promissory notes: others contain strings of names, pedigrees of the owners to 'Abbás the uncle of the Prophet or some other notable. If the native is asked the source of the genealogical fragment either he thinks that he found it among his father's papers or says that it is an extract which was taken for him from a larger work owned by some "*feki*." In the latter case one's hopes are perhaps raised by a graphic description of an enormous tome, centuries old, said to have been composed "by el Samarḳandi perchance; but God knows!" And one proceeds in search of the "*feki*." Then comes disillusionment. Sometimes the manuscript has been lost or burnt, or it has been lent to a relative at the other end of the country, or eaten by white ants. Sometimes the "*feki*" admits possession and with great care produces a few pages of genealogies obviously written within the last few decades. In this case one is generally referred for the original manuscript to some other "*feki*" who either lives beyond one's reach or died some years ago.

In time, however, one does hear of some accessible "*feki*" whose manuscript has been the *fons et origo* of many of the ragged shreds in circulation and from him one learns that he or his father copied this "*nisba*," fifteen or twenty years ago, from the copy that was in possession of some other learned "*feki*."

Occasionally one finds a "*nisba*" that is known to have been in the hands of the owner's family for several generations. An original author's manuscript a century or more old I have never seen, though such may possibly exist.

The chief reason for this disappearance of documents is not so much the reluctance of the "*fekis*" to risk their possessions in alien hands, though this motive has to be combated where confidence has not been established, as the indubitable fact that both the Mahdi and the Khalifa, and especially the latter, gave stringent orders for the destruction of all modern books and documents[1]. The Mahdi feared that research might tend to invalidate his pretensions to be the Expected One, and the Khalifa, who was a Ta'áíshi from Dárfūr, was only interested in genealogy to the extent of declining to appear less nobly born than his subjects. Consequently vast numbers of documents were deliberately burnt during the period of Dervish rule, many others were buried and so lost, or destroyed by white ants, and only a few survived to the present day.

My first impression after examining a medley of these copies fragments and extracts was to the effect that they were worthless; but a closer acquaintance shewed, on the one hand, that there were various scattered remarks and indications which had a certain value in themselves, and, on the other, that some passages recurred almost word for word in the majority of the longer "*nisbas*" and pointed to a common origin dating from about the sixteenth century.

It also became more and more clear that, however faulty the details might be, the larger tribal genealogies, particularly those connected with the name of el Samarḳandi, contained in the form of a genealogical parable much valuable information concerning the inter-relation of the tribes of the Sudan.

Even allowing that the intrinsic value of these documents is comparatively small it is none the less true that anyone wishing to conduct researches into the history or sociology of the country would have the unwelcome choice either of delaying his work to collect specimens of these manuscripts from all over the country, and then examining them for what they were worth, or of ignoring the documentary evidence altogether. If he could afford the delay he would presumably choose the former alternative and would rapidly find himself sinking deeper and deeper into a morass of contradictions and inaccuracies from which a year or two of work would hardly serve to extricate him. To obviate the occurrence of this dilemma and smooth a little the path of research, by collecting, comparing and annotating such documents as I could find in the course of my work

[1] Cp., for the case of the Mahdi, Slatin Ch. VIII.

in various districts of the Sudan, was the object I set before myself in the first instance. If the zeal of a fool has outrun angelic discretion I can only hope that someone, with a more comprehensive grasp of the necessary scientific and historical material than I could ever pretend to, will be stimulated to undertake the task so imperfectly attempted in the following pages. The general plan adopted is as follows. The ethnological characteristics of the people who lived in the various quarters of the northern Sudan before the coming of the Muhammadans is first discussed in Part I, since it is to them that the non-Arab element in the population of the present day is chiefly due. The extent to which the institution of slavery has affected the racial type of the Sudan Arab is perforce ignored. Its consideration would have postulated a knowledge, which I do not possess, of half the negro races of Central Africa; and in the second place the fact that certain racial and cultural modifications have been caused by breeding from slave women, chiefly NŪBA, DINKA, FŪR and FERTÍT, need only to be kept in mind throughout and their exact definition and classification is rendered less essential.

Secondly, in Part II, an attempt is made to trace the earlier history of some of the more famous Arabian tribes of whom branches eventually settled in the Sudan, and to accentuate the degree of racial connexion or distinction existing between them.

A more general account of the fortunes of the Arabs in Egypt from the seventh to the fifteenth century, shewing some of the causes that led to their southward movements and the conditions that accompanied these, is given in a second chapter; and at the same time, where there are any data forthcoming, some note is taken of the course of events in the Sudan during the same period.

Part III is occupied with a series of notes upon the history and composition of the Arab tribes now in the Sudan.

Part IV opens with a chapter on the origin value and limitations of the native manuscripts. Then follow translations of thirty-two native manuscripts, with explanatory notes, appendices and genealogical trees. It will be objected that some of them are worthless excerpts and might well have been omitted. Two considerations chiefly induced me to include them. In the first place this portion is intended to represent a small corpus of manuscripts typical of the country rather than a Golden Treasury of historical fact. In the second place it is instructive to note the extent to which variations

and coincidences respectively occur in the presentation of the same facts by a number of documents which for the most part are either copied one from the other or traceable to a single source. One not only learns something of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the particular facts stated—a small matter as a rule—but is also enabled to gauge more confidently the degree of reliability which is likely to attach to native manuscripts in general when circumstances do not admit of the application of the comparative test.

H. A. M.

5 *October*, 1921

# CONTENTS


PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . v

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDITIONS REFERRED TO . . . . xiii

## Part I

## THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTHERN SUDAN BEFORE THE TIME OF THE ISLAMIC INVASIONS

CHAP.

1. THE PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIAN ELEMENT . . . . 3
2. THE NŪBIANS, THE NŪBA AND THE LIBYAN ELEMENT . 12
3. THE BEGA, THE BLEMYES AND THE NŪBA OF MEROE . 35
4. THE NON-ARAB RACES OF DÁRPŪR . . . . . 52

APPENDIX 1. A tabular comparison of the Berti and Zagháwa dialects . . . . . 118

APPENDIX 2. A tabular comparison of the dialects of the people of Midób, the Birḳed and the Barábra . . . . . 119

APPENDIX 3. A tabular comparison of the dialect of the Fūr with those of certain of the "Fertít" tribes . . . . . 120

APPENDIX 4. A short vocabulary of the Maṣálíṭ language 122

APPENDIX 5. The Tungur-Fūr of Dár Furnung . . 122

## Part II

## THE PROGRESS OF THE ARAB TRIBES THROUGH EGYPT

1. THE PROGRESS THROUGH EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES OF CERTAIN ARAB TRIBES NOW REPRESENTED IN THE SUDAN 131

APPENDIX. On the penetration of the Sudan by Berber Tribes . . . . . 151

Note to Genealogical Trees 1, 2 and 3 (from Wüstenfeld) . . . . . 154

2. THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE ARABS THROUGH EGYPT AND THEIR INVASIONS OF DONGOLA . . . . 155

Genealogical Trees 1, 2, and 3 . BETWEEN 192 AND 193

# Part III

## THE ARAB TRIBES OF THE SUDAN AT THE PRESENT DAY

PAGE

INTRODUCTION . . . . . 195

CHAP.

1. THE GA'ALIÍN AND DANÁGLA GROUP . . . . 197
   - (*a*) The Bedayría, Shuwayḥát and Ṭerayfía . 201
   - (*b*) The Ghodiát . . . . . 203
   - (*c*) The Baṭáḥín . . . . . 206
   - (*d*) The Rubáṭáb, 'Awaḍía, Manáṣír, Faḍliín, Mírafáb and Ḍubáb, etc. . . . . 209
   - (*e*) The Ḥákimáb . . . . . 212
   - (*f*) The Gawábra . . . . . 212
   - (*g*) The Sháíḳía . . . . . 213
   - (*h*) The Gawáma'a, the Gima'a, the Gamū'ía, the Gimi'áb and the Gema'áb . . . 221
   - (*j*) The Mágidía and Kurtán . . . . 231
   - (*k*) The Ga'aliín proper . . . . . 231

2. THE GUHAYNA GROUP . . . . . 237
   - (*a*) The Rufá'a group, the Guhayna proper, the Laḥáwiín, the 'Abdulláb and the Inḳerriáb . 239
   - (*b*) The Beni 'Omrán . . . . . 249
   - (*c*) The 'Awámra, the Khawálda, the 'Amárna and the Fádnía . . . . . 249
   - (*d*) The Shukria and the Dubásiín . . . 250
   - (*e*) The Ḍubánía or Ḍubáína . . . . 253

The "Fezára" group . . . . . 255
   - (*f*) Dár Ḥámid . . . . . 256
   - (*g*) The Zayádía . . . . . 262
   - (*h*) The Beni Gerár . . . . . 264
   - (*j*) The Baza'a . . . . . 264
   - (*k*) The Shenábla . . . . . 265
   - (*l*) The Ma'ália and the Ma'áḳla . . . 267
   - (*m*) The Dwayḥ or Dwayḥía . . . . 269
   - (*n*) The Mesallamía . . . . . 270

CHAP. PAGE

3. THE GUHAYNA GROUP (*continued*) . . . . . 271
   1. The Baḳḳára . . . . . 271
      (*a*) The Beni Selím . . . . . 276
      (*b*) The Awlád Ḥamayd . . . . . 277
      (*c*) The Habbánía . . . . . 278
      (*d*) The Ḥawázma . . . . . 280
      (*e*) The Messíría, Ḥumr, Ta'elba, Ḥóṭía, Sa'áda and Tergam . . . . . 284
      (*f*) The Rizayḳát . . . . . 290
      (*g*) The Ta'áísha . . . . . 292
      (*h*) The Beni Ḥelba . . . . . 293
      (*j*) The Beni Khuzám . . . . . 295
      (*k*) The Beni Ḥusayn . . . . . 296
      (*l*) The Bashir . . . . . 296
      (*m*) The Salámát, Beni Ráshid and Ziūd . . . 296
   2. The Nawáíba, Mahría, Maḥámíd, 'Erayḳát and 'Aṭayfát . . . . . 298
   APPENDIX. The Genealogical Trees of the Baḳḳára (I–V) 301

4. THE GUHAYNA GROUP (*continued*) . . . . . 307
      (*a*) The Kabábísh . . . . . 307
      (*b*) The Moghárba or Moghrabín . . . . 316
      (*c*) The Ḥamar . . . . . 319

5. THE KAWÁHLA GROUP . . . . . 324
      (*a*) The Kawáhla . . . . . 324
      (*b*) The Aḥámda . . . . . 328
      (*c*) The Ḥasánía and the Ḥusaynát . . . 329

6. THE KENÁNA AND DEGHAYM . . . . . 330

7. THE RIKÁBÍA . . . . . 333

8. THE HAWÁWÍR, GELLÁBA HOWÁRA, WÁḤÍA AND KORÓBÁT 335

9. THE 'ABÁBDA AND ḲERRÁRÍSH . . . . . 338

10. THE ḲERRIÁT . . . . . 340

11. THE SOUTHERN MAḤASS . . . . . 341
    Appendix on certain Burial Customs on the Blue Nile 342

12. THE ḤAMRÁN . . . . . 344

13. (*a*) The Rasháída and Zebaydía . . . . 345
    (*b*) The Ḥaḍáreb and Ḥuḍūr . . . . 346

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# PART I

# THE INHABITANTS OF THE NORTHERN SUDAN BEFORE THE TIME OF THE ISLAMIC INVASIONS

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Nile. Of the Wádi Ḥamámát route that runs east and west between the Red Sea and the Thebaid Professor Elliot Smith says:

> From the records inscribed upon the rocks along this route we know that there was some traffic along it in the times of the fifth dynasty: but it is such an obvious means of access from the Nile to the sea that we can be sure it must have been a trade route even in predynastic times, or at any rate a highway where the Arab and the Proto-Egyptian met and intermingled. The widespread occurrence of marine shells, presumably from the shores of the Red Sea, in the predynastic graves of Upper Egypt and Nubia is positive evidence of the reality of such intercourse[1].

IV Some again have held that the conquering dynastic Egyptians who worshipped Horus were in fact Arabians who entered Africa by way of Massowa, and in the course of developing this theory Professor Navile[2] quotes the saying of Jūba, recorded by Pliny, that the Egyptians were of Arabian origin, and "as for the neighbours of the Nile from Syene to Meroe, they are not Ethiopian nations but Arabs. Even the temple of the Sun, not far distant from Memphis, is said to have been founded by the Arabs[3]." Without going so far as this, one would allow that in early dynastic days Arabians did enter Egypt in large numbers by way of the Eritrean coast and settle there; and in that case far more of them are likely to have settled nearer home and south of the Egyptian frontier, in the Sudan.

V Some such movements are probably reflected in the ever recurrent tradition that the early dynasties of Egypt were of Ethiopian origin. It is perhaps too often assumed that "Ethiopian" is necessarily the equivalent of "negro." Certainly in the second millennium B.C. south-west Arabia was beginning to colonize the highlands of Abyssinia, and those cross-currents of migration had begun to flow which reached their height during the hegemony of Má'in and Sába (c. 1500–300 B.C.)[4].

Throughout the whole of this period a large proportion of the world's commerce passed by way of Abyssinia and the coast of the Red Sea to the Nile[5], and the populations on either side of the straits of Báb el Mandeb became more and more assimilated to one another[6].

[1] Elliot Smith, *loc. cit.* p. 88.

[2] Navile, *Origin of Egyptian Civilization*, Smithsonian Rep. 1907, pp. 549–564.

[3] Pliny, Bk. VI, 34.

[4] See Sir H. Johnston in *Journ. R. A. I.* XLIII, 1913, p. 385; Winckler, in *World's History*, p. 249, etc.

[5] See Schurtz in *World's History*, p. 433.

[6] Cp. Palgrave, *C. and E. Arabia*, II, 240 ff.; and Ludolphus: the latter says of the Ethiopians of Abyssinia, "They are not natives of the land but came out of that part of Arabia which is called the Happy, which adjoins to the Red Sea" (*ap.* Bent, p. 175).

VI Under the Ptolemies trade throve equally, and there is ample evidence of Arab trading-stations in the first and second centuries A.D. on the coast from Báb el Mandeb to the Gulf of Suez[1].

VII As regards early Arabian immigration by land to Egypt, there are some who, while rejecting the theory that the early dynasts came through Ethiopia, would yet bring them from Arabia into Egypt by way of the peninsula of Sinai[2]. This is very doubtful. The positive evidence, dating from the time of the earliest dynasties, does, however, prove that the eastern side of the Delta was being perpetually harried by nomads from Sinai and Syria[3], and there are numerous early reliefs shewing a Pharaoh smiting the Beduin, "the sand-dwellers" of the mining regions of Sinai[4].

VIII During the twelfth dynasty, nearly 2000 years before the Christian era, the monuments prove that there was also trade with these Beduin. "The needs of the Semitic tribes of neighbouring Asia were already those of civilized people and gave ample occasion for trade[5]"; and hence the famous picture from the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Ḥasan, in which is depicted the arrival of a band of Beduin traders[6].

The more amicable conditions now prevailing are also suggested by the wording of the Tale of Sinuhe's flight to Palestine during the time of the same dynasty:

> I came to the Walls of the Ruler, made to repulse the Beduin...I went on...I fell down for thirst...I upheld my heart, I drew my limbs together, as I heard the sound of the lowing of cattle, I beheld the Beduin. That chief among them, who had been in Egypt, recognized me. He gave me water, he cooked for me milk. I went with him to his tribe, good was that which they did (for me)[7].

IX About 1657 B.C. occurred the Hyksos invasion of Egypt[8]. This people may have been Hittite or possibly Arabian by race: the evidence points to the former[9], but we may assume in any case that Arabia sent its quota of Beduin in the wake of the invaders[10] and that during the Hyksos period and that succeeding it trade between east and west flourished to a larger extent than formerly.

[1] See *Periplus* and Ptolemaeus, *passim*.
[2] *E.g.* Lepsius, *q.v. ap.* Navile, *loc. cit.* [3] Elliot Smith, *loc. cit.* pp. 92, 93.
[4] See Breasted, *A. R.* I, 168, 236, 250, 267, 311–315. The first of these dates from the first dynasty, and all fall within the period of the first six dynasties.
[5] Breasted, *Hist.* p. 159.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 158, and *A. R.* I, 620; Schurtz, *loc. cit.* p. 619.
[7] Breasted, *A. R.* I, 493. [8] Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 179, 442.
[9] Von Luschan, *Journ. R. A. I.* XLI, 1911, p. 242.
[10] Breasted (*Hist.* p. 181) remarks that the Hebrews in Egypt may have been "but a part of the Beduin allies of the Kadesh or Hyksos."

X When the Empire was at the noontide of its glory and the Syrian wars of Thutmose III (1479–1447 B.C.) had broken down such barriers as remained, "all the world traded in the Delta markets[1]," and an inscription from the tomb of Harmhab (1350–1315) is particularly interesting as proving that Arab settlement in Egypt had been taking place for some time: it records how fugitives from Palestine begged the Pharaoh to give them an asylum in Egypt "after the manner of your fathers' fathers since the beginning[2]." By now, too, the Shasu or Khabiri, the desert Semites, including Arabs, Hebrews and Aramaeans, were inundating Syria and Palestine, until, in the reign of Ikhnāton (1375–1358) they became paramount on the eastern borders of Egypt[3].

Their power received a check at the hands of Seti I (c. 1313–1292), and they were also no doubt affected by the repulses inflicted by Rameses II (1292–1225) on the Hittites.

By the time of Rameses's death there were numbers of Arabians captured in war and enrolled as serfs in Egypt, or employed as mercenaries[4].

XI The power of Egypt then began to decline, and during the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first dynasties the Libyans so overran Egypt that by 950 B.C. they had gained the supreme power[5]. The presumption is that some of the eastern nomads, who were divided by no great racial gulf from the Libyans, took the opportunity at the same time to settle with them in the Delta and intermarry with them as they had probably already intermarried with the native Egyptians.

XII In the Nūbian period which followed, Assyria rose to the height of her power and subdued Egypt. Psammetichus I (663–609) was practically a vassal of that power in the early years of his reign; but later, as Babylon supplanted Assyria, he asserted his independence and entered into widely ramifying foreign relations with the powers to the north and east; and his successors imitated his example.

XIII Sixty years after the death of Psammetichus I Cyrus founded the Medo-Persian empire, and in 525 B.C. Cambyses, King of Persia, occupied Egypt.

XIV The Arabs may have strengthened their footing in Egypt during the Assyrian and Babylonian periods. Herodotus[6] indeed speaks of Sennacherib as "King of the Arabians and Assyrians"

[1] Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 244, 253.
[2] Breasted, *A. R.* III, 10, 11.
[3] Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 263, 284, 285.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 254, 317, 318.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 298, 327, 328, 333 ff.; and cp. *A. R.* III, 570; IV, 35, 83, 84.
[6] Bk. II, 141.

and his army as "the Arabian host." So, too, the Persian period lasted for about 200 years and presumably the settlements of Asiatics that now occurred included a proportion of Arabs. The presumption is made more certain by the fact that when Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 B.C. he appointed Cleomenes of Naukratis to be governor of "Arabia about Heroopolis" with the title of "Arabarch," and so important was this official's position that he was also responsible to Alexander for the whole tribute of Egypt[1].

XV In the reign of the first Ptolemy we hear of the Arabs providing great convoys of camels for the abortive invasion by Antigonus[2], and no doubt they transported and raided both sides alternately throughout all the wars of the successive Ptolemies on the Syrian frontier; but to what extent they made any permanent settlement in Egypt during this period it is impossible to say.

XVI Meanwhile let us not forget the more continuous intercourse that was proceeding further south. Not only were trade relations maintained, but the Ḳaḥṭánites or Ḥimyarites of southern Arabia were forming a definite link between the Arabs and the negro population of Abyssinia[3], and periodically invaded the Nile valley. We need not pay much attention to the tale of Sheddád, a Ḥimyarite king of the 'Adites, who invaded Egypt in the days of Ashmūn the great-grandson of Ham son of Noah, and built pyramids and reservoirs before he was compelled to retreat[4], but the tradition that one of the early kings of Yemen, 'Abd Shams Sabá, the founder of Márib, invaded Egypt[5] probably refers to an actual incursion from the south-east during the Nūbian period.

XVII More important matters were the expeditions of Abráha "Dhu el Manár[6]" and Afríḳus.

The former was born, according to Caussin de Perceval, about 134 B.C., and was king of Yemen, and brother or son of el Ṣa'ab "Dhu el Ḳarnayn" ("The two-horned")[7]. He is said to have made

[1] Mahaffy, *History of Egypt*, pp. 20, 21.
[2] Mahaffy, *loc. cit.* 49.
[3] Cp. Palgrave, *Arabia*, I, 453, 454.
[4] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 523.
[5] See, *e.g.* Abu el Fidá, pp. 114, 115, quoting Ibn Sa'íd; Van Dyck, p. 15; and Caussin de Perceval, I, 52.

[6] "He of the Signposts." For his expedition see Abu el Fidá, p. 117; Van Dyck, p. 16; and Caussin de Perceval, I, 67 (citing el Nuwayry, *Hist. Imp. Vet. Yoct.* p. 52).

[7] Caussin de Perceval (I, 65) calls el Ṣa'ab "Essáb." He was called "The two horned because he wore two plaits of hair hanging down over his temples" (Van Dyck, p. 16), or else because "he wore a crown with points like horns" (C. de Perceval, *loc. cit.*). By reason of the nickname he was sometimes confused with Alexander the Great "Dhu el Ḳarnayn." It is possible there is a connection here with the "two horns" worn by the Mek of Bujaras (*q.v.* Part III, Chap. 2, XXXIII) and the two-horned "taḳía" worn by the Fung (see Part III, *sub* "'Abdulláb"). "On ne sait pas précisément pourquoi Alexandre reçut le surnom de 'Zou-l-

an incursion into the Sudan and advanced as far as the Moghrab. This story evidently points to a Ḥimyaritic expedition into the Sudan by way of Abyssinia. Abráha's son Afríḳus, or Ibn Afríḳi, invaded northern Africa probably about 46 B.C.[1]

XVIII There are grounds for supposing that these invasions were followed by two distinct Ḥimyaritic settlements in the interior of Africa.

In the first place, numbers of them are said to have settled west of Egypt among the Libyan tribes and multiplied with these under the common name of Berbers: such is the origin assigned with very reasonable probability to the Ṣanhága and Ketáma sections of the Berber[2]. In this connection it may be noted that at the battle of Actium Arabs of the Yemen fought for Antony on the galleys of Cleopatra[3].

Secondly, it seems certain that colonies of Ḥimyarites settled in Nūbia, though it is hard to say whether the traces of Ḥimyaritic

carnayn' ('à deux cornes'). Les uns prétendent que c'est parce qu'il avait deux éminences sur la tête, d'autres parce qu'il avait deux cornettes à sa couronne, d'autres parce qu'il avait deux longues tresses de cheveux pendantes, d'autres parce qu'il subjugua l'univers, de l'Orient réel à l'Occident réel, *etc.*...La dénomination d''Alexandre aux deux cornes' est l'analogue de celle de Jupiter Ammon." (Perron, *ap.* el Tūnisi, *Voy. au Dárfour*, pp. 456, 458.)

[1] Caussin de Perceval (I, 70) points out that Caesar in 46 B.C. was opposed in Africa by the Numidians of Jūba, *i.e.* by the Libyo-Berber tribes, and that these latter were compelled to retreat before meeting Caesar because of an invasion of Jūba's state at the instigation of Caesar by a certain Sittius at the head of an army of adventurers. Sittius may be Afríḳus, and the name Afríḳus may have been merely conferred in honour of the expedition. Ibn Khaldūn (I, 27) calls him "ibn Saifi." Concerning the expedition itself see Ibn Khaldūn, I, 168–176 (citing Ibn el Kelbi); Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Ar.* p. 60; Abu el Fidá, pp. 116, 117; Caussin de Perceval, I, 69 (citing the above and el Nuwayry's *Hist. Imp. Vet. Yoct.* p. 52); Carette, *Explor. Scient. de l'Algérie*, III, 306; and Leo Africanus (Hakluyt ed.), I, 122.

[2] See Ibn Khaldūn, I, 27 and 184, and II, 178; and cp. el Mas'ūdi, III, 240. Ibn el Raḳíḳ (*q.v. ap.* Carette, *loc. cit.* p. 49) says that the first people to inhabit Barbary were five colonies of Sabaeans under Ibn Afríḳi, king of Yemen, and that they gave birth to 600 tribes of Berbers. These five colonies were taken to be the Ṣanhága, Maṣmūda, Zenáta, Ghomára, and Howára. Ibn Khaldūn only allows the Ḥimyaritic origin of the Ṣanhága and the Ketáma. He says المشهور أنهم من اليمنية وان أفريقش لماغزا افريقية انزلهم بها (ed. ar., VI, 97, Bk III). He puts down the rest as related to the Philistines and descended from Canaan.

Cp. also Ibn Baṭūṭa, II, 196. This traveller visited Zhafár, a month's journey by land from Aden, and records the striking resemblance between the food, the habits and the women's proper names among the people there and among those in the Moghrab. He says

وهذا التشابة كله مما يقوي القول بان صنهاجة وسواهم من قبائل المقرب اصلهم من حمير

("This resemblance bears out the statement that Ṣanhága and other tribes of the Moghrab are of Ḥimyaritic origin.")

[3] Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* p. 70, quoting Virgil, *Aeneid*, VIII, 706.

influence which occur there, and which will be noticed later[1], date in the main from this or a later period.

At this period sun-worship was flourishing both in Southern Arabia and among the Ḥimyaritic colonists of northern Abyssinia[2] and the worship of the same deity that survived at Talmis (Kalabsha) until the time of Justinian[3] may well have formed a bond of sympathy between Ḥimyarite and Nūbian through the medium of Abyssinia and so have facilitated and encouraged intercourse between the two. Pliny, as we have already seen, even quotes Jūba to the effect that the Nile dwellers from Aswán to Meroe were not Ethiopians but Arabians[4]—a statement which though obviously exaggerated may be taken as containing at least some grain of truth. There is, too, a tradition[5] that Abu Málik, one of the last of the true Ḥimyarite dynasty, made an expedition into the BEGA country in quest of emeralds and there perished with most of his army. The event on which this tale is founded probably occurred during the early decades of the Christian period[6].

XIX In 25 B.C. Augustus, under the impression that the merchandize brought to the Red Sea ports by the Arabs was produced by Arabia, commissioned Aelius Gallus, the Prefect of Egypt, to conquer that country[7].

This expedition was a failure; but about thirty years later, having learned that the most valuable merchandize brought by the Arabs came originally from India, and desiring a monopoly for ships from Egyptian ports, the Romans imposed a 25 per cent. import duty on goods from Arabian ports and destroyed Adane, the chief trading centre of them all[8]. For about two centuries Roman shipping was developed at the expense of the Arab[9], but the old freedom of intercourse between the two coasts does not seem to have been checked thereby, and by the time of Diocletian (284–305 A.D.) the Axumites of Abyssinia and the Ḥimyarites of the Yemen had entirely regained the trade ascendancy[10].

XX These two peoples, closely connected by race, were now united by the bond of a common religion. Axum had been finally converted

[1] See Index, *sub* "Ḥimyar."

[2] Cp. Van Dyck, pp. 18 and 38; and see Part II, Chap. 2, XXVI.

[3] Letronne, *Matériaux*....

[4] "Quin et accolas Nili a Syene non Aethiopum populos sed Arabum esse dicit usque Meroen." Pliny, Bk VI, para. 34.

[5] Caussin de Perceval, 1, 82; Van Dyck, p. 18.

[6] Caussin de Perceval puts the date of Abu Málik's birth in 31 A.D.

[7] Milne, pp. 19, 20.

[8] *Ibid*. p. 34.

[9] Cp. Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, pp. lxxix, lxxx. He attributes to this cause the northward migration of the Ḳuḍá'a and Beni Azd.

[10] Milne, p. 94.

to Christianity by Frumentius about 330 A.D., and the faith spread very rapidly throughout Abyssinia[1]. The Yemen had been converted half a century earlier and remained nominally Christian until about 500 A.D. when the king, Dhu Nawás, a descendant of Abráha, adopted Judaism[2].

XXI Both Anastasius (491–518) and Justinus I (518–527) sent embassies to the Ḥimyarites seeking their aid to check the increasing inroads of the Persians by an attack in the rear[3]; but their plans were nullified by the trouble that had arisen between the Ḥimyarites and the Axumites as a result of the persecution of Christians by Dhu Nawás. Elesbaan, king of Axum, invaded the Yemen and subdued it about 522 A.D.[4], and until about the end of the century it remained subject to Abyssinia, though the actual administration remained in the hands of the Ḥimyarites.

XXII The last of the Ḥimyarite viceroys was Sayf, the son of Dhu Yazan and grandson of the Dhu Nawás mentioned above. This man, with the aid of the Persians, succeeded in driving most of the Abyssinians out of el Yemen and enslaving the rest. Some of these latter, however, murdered him about 608 A.D. and he was buried at Ṣana'a. The Persians then occupied the country until it was conquered from them by the Muhammadans in 634[5].

Now, curiously enough, this Sayf ibn Dhu Yazan is fabled to have founded the kingdom of Kanem[6]. That he did not do so is quite certain, great traveller though he is related to have been in Arab tradition[7]. But during the tumultuous years which ushered in the seventh century in Arabia and immediately preceded Islam, there may have been, and probably was, some emigration from the Yemen to Africa, and it is not outside the bounds of possibility that some of these Ḥimyarites penetrated to the far west, called themselves members of the royal family of el Yemen and were accepted as such by the ignorant natives[8].

[1] Letronne, *loc. cit.*

[2] Van Dyck, pp. 20, 21. The legend that a Ḥimyarite founded a dynasty in Bornu at the end of the sixth century (Nachtigal *ap.* Schurtz, *loc. cit.* pp. 534, 582) is curious but unsupported by evidence.

[3] Milne, pp. 103, 104. [4] Procopius, *De Bell. Pers.* I, 19 (*ap.* Bent, p. 178).

[5] Van Dyck, pp. 21–24, and Abu el Fidá, pp. 118, 119.

[6] He appears under the names "Sayf ibn Dhu Yazan," "Muḥammad Sayf Ullah," or "Sayf ibn Ḥasan." See Carbou, I, 4–7, Barth, II, 261, 262, 268, 269, 633, and Nachtigal.

[7] Abu el Fidá, *loc. cit.*

[8] Cp. Carbou, *loc. cit.* and Barth, II, 269. I suppose Sultan Bello to refer to this movement when he speaks of certain Berber slaves and conscripts in el Yemen as rebelling against the Ḥimyarites and being forced in consequence to emigrate to the African coast. "They then went to Kanoom, and settled there, as strangers, under the government of the Tawarek, who were a tribe related to them, and called

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# CHAPTER 2

## *The Nūbians, the Nūba and the Libyan Element*

I The way has now been cleared for the discussion of the non-Arab races which the Islamic Arabs found in the Sudan.

II All of these, with the exception of the nomad BEGA in the eastern desert, were commonly included by the invaders under the vague denomination of NŪBA. This term first occurs in literature in the geography of Eratosthenes[1], who was born in 276 B.C. He speaks of "the Νοῦβαι." Later the name occurs as Νουβάδες, or in the Latinized form of Nobatae.

The ultimate derivation of the word is not known, but it appears to be of very ancient origin and may be connected through the Coptic NOTBT (meaning "to plait") with "*nebed*," the word used in the inscription of Thothmes I (date c. 1540 B.C.) to denote "the plaited-haired ones," or as it is perhaps with less accuracy translated "the curly-haired ones" whom that monarch overthrew in the neighbourhood of the third cataract: "He hath overthrown the chief of the ⌜Nubians⌝; the Negro [*nehesi*] is helpless....There is not a remnant among the curly-haired, who came to attack him[2]."

I imagine that the Arabs simply adopted the word which they found commonly used in Egypt to denote collectively the races living south of the first cataract[3]. With ethnological differentiation they

[1] *Ap.* Strabo, Bk. XVII, ed. Casaubon, p. 786.

[2] Breasted, *A. R.* II, 71, and Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, pp. 616, 618. The latter says, "With regard to the word in the inscription of Thothmes I rendered 'the curly-haired,' *i.e.* as a synonym of 'Negro' (*nehesi*), written earlier in the inscription...it is necessary to exercise a certain amount of caution, for Miss Murray points out that this word reads *Nebed*, and is determined by a lock of hair, *i.e.* 'the curly-haired' stands for 'the *nebed*-haired.' But '*nebed*,' according to Brugsch, does not mean 'curly,' but is the equivalent of the French *tresser*, *natter*, *entrelacer*, and is akin to the Coptic NOTBT=*plectere*, *intexere*." Seligman does not, however, allude to the possibility of any connection between NOTBT and "*Nūba*." The word "*Nūba*" is sometimes derived from "*nubu*," the word used for "gold" in, *e.g.*, the inscription of Amenemhet (Ameni) in the time of the twelfth dynasty (see Breasted, *A. R.* I, 520). Gold and slaves have been the chief attraction of the Sudan in all ages. (Cp. Budge, I, 534, 541.)

[3] Elliot Smith says: "We are not justified in calling both the early and the late inhabitants of Nubia 'Nubians'; in fact, it is very doubtful whether we ought to apply the name to the pre-Hellenic population of the Nile valley between Aswán and Meroe" (*Arch. Surv. Nub. Bull.* II, Cairo, 1908). R. Lepsius speaks of the probably incorrect extension of the name "Nūba" to all lands out of which slaves were brought to the north (*Nubische Grammatik*).

were little concerned, and until late years that subject remained sufficiently obscure.

## The Present Inhabitants of Nūbia

III At the present day the inhabitants of Nūbia, which may be taken as extending along the Nile banks from Aswán as far south approximately as the eighteenth parallel, to the vicinity, that is, of Debba and Korti[1], are commonly known to the north as Barábra ("Berberines") and to the south as Danágla, *i.e.* inhabitants of Dongola[2].

The term "Barábra" is used to include the Kanūz between Aswán and Korosko, a people whom we shall see to be an element distinct, the "Nūba" round Ḥalfa, the Sukkót, the Maḥass proper, and frequently the Danágla. The Danágla extend as far north only as the vicinity of Arḳo Island and do not admit that they are Barábra. Physically and linguistically the Sukkót and Maḥass fall into a single group and are distinct from the Kanūz and Danágla. The two latter, however, bear obvious resemblances to one another and their languages are similar. This curious fact is due without doubt to the geographical peculiarities of the Nile valley between Korosko and Dongola, the effect of which is to leave the Maḥass and Sukkót more or less isolated[3].

IV All these people are Muhammadans and have Arab blood in their veins, but racial characteristics derived from non-Arab ancestors have survived very persistently, and more noticeably so among the Maḥass and Sukkót. The Kanūz and Danágla approximate very much more to the Arab type.

At the same time, the importation of slave women from the south, which has proceeded uninterruptedly for centuries, has lent a further measure of spurious homogeneity to all of these Nūbian peoples[4].

[1] The southern limit of "Kush" under the Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty was practically the same, viz. Napata (Breasted, *A. R.* II, 1020).

[2] "Danágla," or more correctly "Danáḳla" is the plural of "Dongoláwi" or "Donḳoláwi." There is probably a connection between "Danáḳla" and the "Danákil" of the northern Somali coast (see Johnston, *The Nile Quest*, pp. 34–42).

[3] Cp. Beckett, *Cairo Sc. Journ.* Aug. 1911; Burckhardt, *Nubia*, pp. 25, 26; and *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, I, 83, where the term Barábra is used to include the Danágla. Burckhardt (*loc. cit.*) says: "The inhabitants of Nouba, and Wady Kenous, as far as Dongola, are known in Egypt under the name of Berábera (sing. Berbery); but that appellation is seldom made use of by the inhabitants themselves, when speaking of their own nation." As usual, he is accurate. By "Maḥass proper" are meant the Maḥass of Maḥass district as distinct from the Maḥass settled, *e.g.* on the Blue Nile.

[4] Cp. Schweinfurth, II, 194.

V As regards the BARÁBRA as a whole one thing is quite certain: there are no grounds for closely connecting them as a race with the NŪBA of southern Kordofán as Rüppell, Rossi and Keane did[1]. They are very similar in type to the Middle Nūbians who lived between 3000 and 4000 years ago in the same locality, but these had no more racial affinity with the southern NŪBA than the BARÁBRA-DANÁGLA have, and the latter are almost the complete antithesis of the southern NŪBA both physically and culturally[2].

It may be the case, and probably is, that the southern NŪBA are to some extent the modern representatives of the race of negroes who temporarily held Dongola and the cataract country south of Ḥalfa in the days of the Middle Kingdom and early Empire and whose congeners, no doubt at a later date, formed part of the forces of the Ethiopian dynasty that conquered Egypt and ruled it for something less than a century, but these negroes were aliens in the northern Sudan and most of them were forced back to the south, and their place in Lower Nūbia was taken by its original inhabitants and settlers from Egypt.

In the Dodekaschoinos[3] it is probable that the negroes had hardly displaced the original inhabitants, but south of Ḥalfa they must have done so temporarily and to some extent modified the racial type in the process. But, even so, allowing for periods of interruption, it is true to say that from the time of the Middle Empire (2000–1600 B.C.) and onwards for centuries, and throughout the Meroitic, Ptolemaic and classical periods, and again in the years preceding the decisive Arab conquest of the Sudan, a strong infiltration of the Egyptian and, later, of the Egypto-Arab type was steadily and almost uninterruptedly proceeding in the northern Sudan and the negro element was correspondingly decreasing in that region.

VI It will be seen too that this prolonged infiltration to the south was more than the return of an ancient population, reinforced by fresh blood, to its quondam home on the river. When once the Arabs had overthrown the Christian kingdom of Dongola and established themselves in its place, they rapidly amalgamated with the local Nūbians and began to send colonies further afield.

Thus it came about that BARÁBRA, with an Arab leaven, penetrated into Kordofán and settled round about the most northernly of the NŪBA mountains and intermarried with the negroes who were

[1] See Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* 1913, XLIII, 610, and Beckett, *loc. cit.* pp. 200 ff. For Keane, see *Man: Past and Present*, p. 75.

[2] Seligman, *loc. cit.*

[3] See Part II, Chap. 2, XXXIX.

probably descendants of the erstwhile conquerors of Nūbia[1]. The immigrating race, in addition, imposed its own language upon the blacks in their vicinity, and thus are explainable the linguistic affinities which have troubled so many generations of investigators. The BARÁBRA, in short, do not speak a language akin to that of the northern NŪBA of southern Kordofán because the negroes conquered Nūbia,—the negroes probably spoke some language or languages of their own that may still survive in the mountain fastnesses of the far south,—but because the BARÁBRA colonized the country round the foot of the northern hills of Dár Nūba. The conclusion, however, has here anticipated the argument and we must revert.

## THE EARLIEST INHABITANTS OF NŪBIA

VII As regards the earliest period it has been proved that those shadowy inhabitants of northern Nūbia, who are known to archaeologists as "Group A," were contemporaries of the pre-dynastic Egyptians, that both buried their dead in the same way and that in cultural matters there were marked similarities. The two peoples must have been practically uniform[2], and their stock may have extended in a more or less diluted form from Egypt to the Blue Nile and Abyssinia[3]. They were a "small, dark-haired, black-eyed, glabrous people" bearing a close resemblance to the Libyans of the southern Mediterranean seaboard, and were, in the earliest period of all, devoid of all negro characteristics[4].

## THE FIRST ARRIVAL OF THE NEGROES

VIII Later, about the time of the third dynasty, negro types began to settle in Nūbia as far north as Aswán, and from now onwards "the population that grew up was a mixture of early Nubian and dynastic Egyptian with an ever increasing Negro element[5]."

### (*a*) *The Baḥr el Ghazál Type*

These negroes were for the most part "short and relatively broad-headed," of a type akin to that found at the present day in the south

[1] Further evidence on this subject will be found in Part III, Chap. 1, where details of the Bedayría and other Danágla tribes are given.

[2] Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, p. 66, and in *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, Report for 1907–8, II, Chap. II; Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1918, p. 7.

[3] Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 78, 79. Of this stock he also says (p. 54): 'There is a considerable mass of evidence to shew that there was a very close resemblance between the proto-Egyptians and the Arabs before either became intermingled with Armenoid racial elements."

[4] Elliot Smith, *Cairo Scient. Journ.* March 1909, pp. 56, 57.

[5] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 614.

of the Baḥr el Ghazál province, and entirely distinct from the invaders of the Empire period.

### (*b*) *The Nilotic Type*

The tall Nilotes, SHILLUK, DINKA and NUER of the White Nile valley, who now intervene between the Baḥr el Ghazál and Nūbia, and are dissimilar to either group and display certain BANTU affinities, could not at the time of the earlier (Baḥr el Ghazál) invasion have yet occupied their present position[1]. It is likely that they arrived there during the second millennium B.C., or later.

### THE "C GROUP" IN LOWER NŪBIA

IX By the time of the twelfth dynasty the fusion of races in Lower Nūbia had resulted in the production of the singularly homogeneous blend of traits which distinguish the people of the Middle Empire, that is, dynasties twelve to seventeen, or "C Group"; the very type which in a modified form is represented in the same locality by the BARÁBRA of the present day.

By the same date the population further south must have become almost exclusively negro (*nehes*).

### EARLY LIBYAN INFLUENCES IN NŪBIA

X Concurrently with the early negro infusion into Nūbia further racial modification was probably being caused by the settlement on the Nile of Libyans (*Temehu*) from the western oases and the steppes of northern Kordofán.

In the time of the sixth dynasty, about 2750 B.C., Harkhuf, the Governor of the district round Aswán, went to Yam, *i.e.* Lower Nūbia on the west side[2], and, he says, "I found the chief of Yam going to the land of Temeh to smite Temeh as far as the western corner of heaven. I went forth after him to the land of Temeh and I pacified him...[3]." Harkhuf then went southwards through Upper Nūbia, crossed over to the east bank, and returned downstream to Egypt bringing with him incense, ebony, oil, grain, panther-skins, ivory and throwing-sticks[4]. The advocates of the Libyan theory find here evidence that the Libyans (*Temehu*) lived between the first and second cataracts, but as Giuffrida-Ruggeri remarks[5], "there is still the possibility suggested by Hrdlička[6] that these Temehu lived...on the oases of Kharga and Dakhla, which are in the Libyan desert...."

[1] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 624.
[2] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 613 note.
[3] Breasted, *A. R.* I, 335.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 336, and Seligman, *loc. cit.*
[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 54.
[6] *The Natives of Kharga Oasis, Egypt*, Smithsonian Misc. Collections, LIX, No. 1, p. 5, Washington, 1912.

Budge[1] thinks from the list of products brought back by Harkhuf that he probably penetrated Kordofán and Dárfūr *via* the oases of Kurkur and Selima; and Professor Navile[2] accepts the inscription of Harkhuf as proof that the Libyo-Berbers were occupying Kordofán and Dárfūr and possibly Borḳu. The negroes, he thinks, must have ousted them at a later date.

Reisner thinks Harkhuf followed the river and doubts if he penetrated as far as Sennar. The products brought back, he points out, might have been obtained in trade anywhere between Dongola and Sennar, whatever their ultimate origin[3]. However, as large and wealthy Arab tribes have chosen to live in the Bayūda desert for centuries it is also likely in any case that races of similar habits and inclinations occupied it before them. That the earliest of such to do so were of Libyan origin appears to be sufficiently established, but the extent, if any, to which these races settled on the Nile and mixed with the Nūbian population of the Middle Nūbian period is still undetermined[4].

XI The Middle Nūbian stock was also mixed, it is probable, with another strain, that of the red-skinned BEGA from the eastern deserts[5]. But in the main, from Assuan for some distance south of Ḥalfa, it was negroid, though certainly not true negro[6].

## NŪBIA IN THE TIME OF THE TWELFTH DYNASTY

XII During the time of the great kings of the twelfth dynasty (2000–1788 B.C.) events of great importance occurred in the northern Sudan[7]. At least three serious military campaigns were carried out, by Amenemhat I (1971), by Sesostris I (1962) and by Sesostris III (1879). In connection with these a series of forts and garrisons was established from the Egyptian frontier as far as the lower end of the present Dongola Province, and at several of these, notably at Semna and Kerma (Inebuw-Amenemhat), regular colonies of Egyptians were founded. During this period the district between Aswán and Semna became populous and prosperous.

Every lateral valley had its village or group of huts. Every square meter of alluvial soil appears to have been cultivated. The people were

[1] I, 512. [2] Smithsonian Rep. 1907, pp. 549–64.

[3] See *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1918, p. 12.

[4] Bates (*The Eastern Libyans*) would go so far as to class the Middle Nūbians as a race with the Libyans rather than with the Negroes. Giuffrida-Ruggeri combats this theory in *Man*, April 1915. The question of Berber influencēs in the western desert at a later date occurs again later in this chapter.

[5] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 619. A discussion of the ethnic place of the Bega follows in Chap. 3.

[6] Reisner, *loc. cit.* pp. 12, 13.

[7] For the following see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, April 1918.

Nubians, perhaps descended in part from the harried population of the Old Empire, but increased by immigrants from the more exposed districts south of Semna. Culturally they were still in an uncivilized state, nearly neolithic. They were sowers and herdsmen, hunters and fishermen. The only crafts were pot-making, cloth and mat-weaving, and basket-making, —all carried out by hand with the simplest of tools.

South of Semna, of course, conditions were far less settled and periodical punitive expeditions were necessary.

The expedition of Sesostris I appears, however, to have resulted in the "thorough subjugation of the country, certainly as far as the upstream end of Dongola Province, and perhaps well into Berber Province." The year 1962 marks the first real conquest of the north-central Sudan. The fort at Kerma was enlarged and the settlement increased, and the result has been shewn by Reisner's recent excavations. These prove that a "special local civilization, a curious modification of the culture of Egypt, deeply affected by local forms, materials and customs," was developed and throve. About 1879, however, Amenemhat's fort was sacked as the result of a rising or invasion from the south. Sesostris III at once led an army into the Sudan and crushed the rebels and set up the famous stela at Semna, 37 miles south of Ḥalfa, inscribed with the order forbidding the "negroes" to pass downstream beyond it for ever[1]. From his time until the New Empire no mention of Nūbia is found in the Egyptian inscriptions, but its occupation certainly continued and one infers that local conditions were more or less settled.

Kerma had been restored and made the administrative centre of a province, but it seems that about 1600 B.C. it was burnt out and never rebuilt.

## Nūbia in the Time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Its Egyptianization

XIII The Egyptianization of the northern Sudan was proceeding steadily in the time of Ahmose (Ahmes) I, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty (c. 1580–1350 B.C.[2]) and under his successors. Ahmose I placed Lower Nūbia ("Wawat") under an Egyptian Governor, and his successor, Amenhotep (Amenophis) I, appointed in 1548 the first of a long line of Egyptian viceroys, who ruled Ethiopia during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties.

In the following reign, that of Thothmes I, occurred the serious revolt and its suppression to which reference has already been made.

[1] See Breasted, *A. R.* 1, 652.

[2] For the following, to the close of the quotation ending "...kings of Ethiopia," see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Oct. 1918.

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it. Senusert III repelled them[1] and fixed their boundary above Ḥalfa. Later, the negroes—no doubt the same ones—gave further trouble, and Thothmes I defeated them even more completely and forced them back to the third cataract. It seems probable that it is these negro invaders who are depicted from the eighteenth to the twentieth dynasty, and not the more permanent and rightful inhabitants of Lower Nūbia.

## Discussion of the Negro Type found in Nūbia under the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties. The Kordofán Type?

XIV There is some reason to think that these negroes whom Senusert III defeated and forbade to pass north of Ḥalfa, the "plaited-haired ones" with whom Thothmes I later warred farther to the south, the men depicted as tall, coarse, full-blooded negroes, were probably akin to the tall mesaticephalous type that now survives in southern Kordofán and whose remains, dating from the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty (Tabarka, Tanutamon, etc.) and earlier, have lately been found at Gebel Moya and other hills in the Gezira[2]. They no doubt followed the Nile in their northward movement, impelled perhaps by the Nilotic stock behind them, but it is as well to bear in mind the possibility that some of them also came overland through Kordofán by way of the Wádi el Muḳaddam[3].

XV It is to this type, the "*nebed*," that the name Nūba is, I suggest, most properly applied, and it is a noticeable fact that the Arab of the present day hardly ever speaks of the Nilotic negro of the south by that name: he instinctively reserves it, on the other hand, (*a*) for the big black of southern Kordofán, (*b*) the hybrid race living

[1] See above, and Breasted, *A. R.* 1, 640.

[2] Dr Derry, who examined the burial sites at G. Moya, and Prof. Seligman who has closely studied the Nūba of southern Kordofán, agree as to the close resemblance between the early Ptolemaic negro of the Gezíra and the present type in southern Kordofán (see Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 625).

"The cemeteries of this site [G. Moya] have yielded the remains of a tall coarsely built Negro or Negroid race with extraordinarily massive skulls and jaws. In a general way they appear to resemble the coarser type of Nuba living in south Kordofán at the present day, and it is significant that the cranial indices of the men of Jebel Moya and the Nuba hills agree closely." (Seligman, Address to the Anthrop. Section of the Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science, *Report*, 1915, p. 9.)

Of the physical characteristics of the Nūba of southern Kordofán Prof. Seligman says: "They are a tall, stoutly-built, muscular people, with a dark, almost black skin. They are predominantly mesaticephalic...nearly 60 per cent. of the individuals measured are mesaticephals, the remainder being dolicocephalic and brachicephalic in about equal proportions." ("The Physical Characters of the Nuba of Kordofan," *R. A. I.* XL, 1910.)

For Reisner's remarks on the excavations at Gebel Moya see *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, p. 65.

[3] See later in this chapter.

at el Ḥaráza, Kága, and other hills in the north of Kordofán, and (*c*) to denote the aborigines extirpated by the FUNG at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the Gezira and the neighbourhood of the Shablūka cataract.

In the form "Nūbia," however, the name came to be applied not to the country whence these negroes came but to the scene of their greatest triumphs, the valley of the Nile between the first cataract and Napata. Nay more, by the irony of fate, although the northern portion of this same country throughout the early and the later dynastic, the Ptolemaic, and Roman periods, and again in the time of the Mamlūks, was considered almost an annex of Egypt and was largely populated by Egyptian colonies, the use of the name "Nūbia" was tending more and more to be restricted to it rather than to the southern portion, and we shall see that by the time of Ibn Selím in the latter part of the tenth century it was not uncommon to regard it as applying *par excellence* to that most northernly district of the Sudan commonly called Marís, which ended some way north of the second cataract[1].

## THE LIBYO-EGYPTIAN PERIOD IN NŪBIA AND THE NŪBIAN CONQUEST OF EGYPT

XVI About 945 B.C. the Libyans, who in the course of centuries had obtained a strong footing in Lower Egypt and the Delta and became partly Egyptianized, seized the throne of the Pharaohs and founded the twenty-second dynasty[2]. How this affected the Sudan immediately we do not know, but in the records of 750 B.C. the northern Sudan appears "no longer as a province of Egypt but as the seat of an independent monarchy of which the Thebaid was the northern province," and Reisner thinks it likely that, as the Libyan kings subsequently weakened and power became decentralized, Kashta, the Libyan (?) representative commanding in the northern Sudan and a member of the royal family, assumed independence. He even, it appears, invaded Egypt and established his supremacy as far north as Thebes. His capital was at Napata (Gebel Barkal), and we may assume that though he and his staff may have been Egypto-Libyans, the mass of his subjects were Nūbians of the present darker type in the north and negroes or semi-negroes in the south.

[1] Cp. Budge, I, 651, and II, 105; also Letronne, *loc. cit.* Evidence of the consistency with which this tract south of Aswán was considered an annex of Egypt will be adduced later (see Part II, Chap. 2).

[2] For the following see Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, for Jan. and Oct. 1919.

XVII Kashta was succeeded by his son Piankhi (744–710 B.C.[1]). This king took further advantage of the decadence that had overtaken Egypt and completed the work begun by his father in overrunning the whole country and making it tributary to him.

XVIII Piankhi was succeeded about 710 B.C. by his brother Shabaka. This monarch, not content with merely receiving tribute, firmly established his authority over the whole of Egypt.

He was followed by Shabataka[2], and the latter, about 688 B.C., by Taharka (a son of Piankhi), who in the reign of Shabaka had commanded the Ethiopian army that was sent to Palestine to assist Hezekiah against the Assyrians of Sennacherib, who were now approaching the eastern borders of Egypt.

## The Assyrian Danger

XIX Taharka's main preoccupation throughout his reign was to stem the tide of this Assyrian invasion. But he was unsuccessful, and in 670 B.C. Esarhaddon forced his way to the Egyptian frontier and heavily defeated him. Tabarka retired southwards leaving the Delta and Memphis in the hands of the Assyrians[3].

Esarhaddon, however, did not press his success, and as he withdrew northwards Taharka reoccupied Memphis and renewed his intrigues with the Palestinian kings.

XX On the death of Esarhaddon in 668, his son Ashurbanipal continued the fresh campaign that had been started against Tabarka and achieved a decisive victory in the eastern Delta. Tabarka again retired southwards. The Assyrians followed and occupied Thebes, reinstated the Libyo-Egyptian dynasts as Governors in Egypt and left garrisons. Ashurbanipal himself then returned with his spoil to Nineveh.

Shortly afterwards Taharka died[4].

XXI Tanutamon, a son of Shabaka (who had married Taharka's

[1] The dates given for the twenty-fifth dynasty are as amended by Reisner in Oct. 1919.

[2] Manetho makes him son of Shabaka, but Breasted (*Hist.* p. 377) thinks this a little doubtful. Piankhi, Shabaka and Shabataka, it may be noted, were all buried at Gebel Kurru near Barkal (Reisner, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Oct. 1919).

[3] Breasted (*loc. cit.* p. 378) says of Taharka: "His features as preserved in contemporary sculptures shew unmistakeably negroid characteristics." Reisner, on the contrary (*Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, p. 50), says that though the Assyrian king chose to represent Taharka as a negro, he "was not a negro, for the statues of both himself and his descendants shew features which might be Egyptian or Libyan but certainly not negro."

[4] He was the founder of the great royal cemeteries of Ethiopia at Nūri, near Merowe.

sister[1]), the last king of the twenty-fifth dynasty, came to the throne in 663 B.C., and, though in name he ruled over both Egypt and the Sudan[2], in fact the only result of his attempts to recover Lower Egypt was that he was driven back and Thebes was sacked by the Assyrians.

By 654 B.C. Tanutamon was dead and buried with his great forefathers Piankhi, Shabaka and Shabataka near Gebel Barkal, and the power of the Sudan over Egypt had come utterly to an end.

## The Meroitic Period and after

XXII On the final separation of Ethiopia from Egypt Psammetichus (Psamtik) I, who had been installed by the Assyrians as King of Sais and Memphis and become founder of the twenty-sixth Egyptian dynasty, did not concern himself greatly with the Sudan. The rulers of that country, too, turned their attention southwards and the province of Meroe was consolidated and developed near the junction of the Atbara and the Nile[3]. It was

made an integral part of Ethiopia as Ethiopia had been of Egypt. Meroe was Ethiopianized, that is, brought under the influence of the Egyptian culture which had been inherited from the days of the viceroys. But this Egypto-Ethiopian culture...was certainly greatly diluted by its extension to Meroe. Meroe was Ethiopianized, not Egyptianized.

About 440 B.C., as Reisner believes, and certainly before 350 B.C.:

Meroe had in its turn absorbed Ethiopia itself, just as Ethiopia, three centuries before, had absorbed its mother country Egypt. The degeneration of the culture became more rapid...even the race was changing. The Egyptian element was being overborne by others, Libyan, Nubian, negro, or whatever it may have been. The fine traits of the educated and skilled Egyptian were visibly fading into the coarse features of a negroid race which may have been slow at forgetting but was incapable of giving a creative impulse to art, learning, or religion.

XXIII We now have, as a result of Reisner's work at Nūri and the vicinity, an almost complete list of the kings that followed Tanutamon, but there is no point in recording them here. More important is the fact that certainly by the time of Nastasenen (Nastasen), who reigned from 298–278 B.C., and probably by about 440 B.C., the political capital was at Meroe while the religious capital remained at Napata.

The temples of Napata with their endowed bodies of priests and craftsmen educated in the learning of Egypt remained the cultural centre of the

[1] Breasted, *A. R.* IV, 920, *note*. [2] *Ibid.* IV, 920.

[3] The date of the actual foundation of the city of Meroe is not known. For further details as to Meroe and for the settlement of the Automoloi in the south see the following chapter.

kingdom, while Meroe became the centre of material wealth and political power....It was not until a generation or so after the death of Nastasen that the rulers of Meroe introduced a revival of learning and art under the influence of Ptolemaic Egypt and made their capital for the first time the cultural centre of Ethiopia.

XXIV Some further remarks on Meroe and its people will be attempted in the next chapter, but, before leaving the subject of the inhabitants of Nūbia proper, we must first turn to the classical geographers of the Ptolemaic period, since they provide certain items of information that are of value.

XXV We have seen that it was Eratosthenes who first used the term *Νοῦβαι* in the third century B.C. As quoted by Strabo he says:

> On the left side of the course of the Nile live the Noubai, in Libya, a great race, beginning from Meroe and extending as far as the bends [of the river]. They are not subject to the Ethiopians but live independently, being divided into several sovereignties[1].

Agathemerus (third century A.D.) in a bald list of African races includes *Νοῦβοι* (*sic*) on either side of the Nile[2].

Pliny says: "The island of the Semberritae on the Nile obeys a queen. Eight days journey further [north] are the Ethiopian Nubei. Their city of Tenupsis is on the Nile[3]."

Ptolemaeus simply mentions a number of Ethiopian tribes with outlandish names, but contributes nothing definite to our knowledge of them beyond that they lived on the Nile, in the Island of Meroe and beyond, and in the western steppes[4].

Procopius[5] says of Elephantine (Aswán) in the latter half of the sixth century, "There live, besides many other races, the very large tribes of Blemyes and Nobatae. The former occupy the interior of the country and the latter reside in the Nile valley"; and relates that

[1] *ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ τῆς ῥύσεως τοῦ Νείλου Νοῦβαι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, μέγα ἔθνος, ἀπὸ τῆς Μερόης ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων, οὐχ ὑποταττόμενοι τοῖς Αἰθιόψιν, ἀλλ' ἰδίᾳ καὶ (?) πλείοις βασιλείαις διειλημμένοι.* Strabo, ed. Casaubon, XVII, 786.

[2] Bk. II, Ch. 5, p. 41 *ap.* Geogr. Minores. Agathemerus wrote in Greek an abridgement of Ptolemy's Geography entitled *Geographias Hupotyposis*.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* Bk. VI, § 35. "Insula in Nilo Semberritarum reginae paret. Ab ea Nubei Aethiopes dierum octo itinere. Oppidum eorum Nilo impositum, Tenupsis." For the island of the Semberritae (Sembritae), which is perhaps the district between Kassala and Ḳallabát, see following chapter.

Pliny also calls some tribe in Syria by the same name of Nubei. "Nec non in media Syriae ad Libanum montem penetrantibus Nubeis, quibus junguntur Ramisi. Deinde Taranei, deinde Patami." (Bk. VI, § 32.)

[4] Ed. Müller, Bk. IV, 748–783.

[5] *De Bello Persico*, Bk. I, 59. The text is as follows: *ἐνταῦθα ἔθνη τε ἄλλα πολλὰ ἵδρυται καὶ Βλέμυές τε καὶ Νοβάται, πολυανθρωπότατα γένη ἀλλὰ Βλέμυες μὲν ταύτης δὴ τῆς χώρας ἐς τὰ μέσα ὤκηνται, Νοβάται δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ Νεῖλον ποταμὸν ἔχουσι.* Procopius was born about 500 and died about 565 A.D.

Diocletian (284–305 A.D.) as well as paying to both tribes a sort of Dane-geld, gave the NOBATAE a tract on the Nile banks and entrusted to them the care of the Dodekaschoinos, the district south of Aswán[1].

XXVI In *The Egyptian Sudan* Budge speaks[2] of these NOBATAE or NŪBA as "a powerful tribe of nomads who lived in the Western Desert" and adds "The Nobatae appear to have come originally from Dâr Fûr and Kordôfân and in Diocletian's time their settlements extended to the oasis of Kharga." Again he says[3] "The people who lived in the deserts on the west of the Nile...were known to classical writers as 'Nubae,' or Nubians, and 'Nobadae' or 'Nobatae.' In Roman times the Nubians consisted of a league of the great tribes of the Western Desert[4]."

The statement that the settlements of the NŪBA extended to the oases of Kharga rests on the remark of Procopius[5] to the effect that the NOBATAE who were settled by Diocletian between Egypt and the BLEMYES had originally lived "about the city oasis" (*i.e.* Kharga). It has been objected[6] that the inhabitants of the oases were undoubtedly of a Libyan stock, and that the NOBATAE were essentially a Nilotic race and could not have been so far north, and that therefore Procopius was at fault. But this is a very risky line of argument: there is no proof that the NOBATAE were essentially Nilotic, and there is a quite definite probability that the Libyan races, the ancient TEMEHU, and the NOBATAE, whether on the river or west of it, had commingled. Throughout history the nomads of the west, Libyans or Berbers, have maintained an intimate connection with the dwellers in the Nile valley; and there may have been both Libyans and NOBATAE at Kharga, or a mixture of the two.

XXVII As regards the religion of these Nūbians the evidence is very slight. In 452 A.D., Priscus tells us[7], a peace was made between Maximin, the Roman general, and the BLEMYES and Nūbians, and one clause of it stipulated that the Romans should allow the others, according to their ancient custom, to make a journey to Philae and visit the temple of Isis and take thence the statue of the goddess and bring it back after a certain time.

But Christianity had by now begun to find converts in Nūbia.

[1] See Evetts, p. 260. [2] II, 176.
[3] II, 417.
[4] In these quotations Budge seems to press somewhat ahead of the evidence. To what extent I agree with him will appear later.
[5] *Loc. cit.* [6] Hall, Review in *Man* of May 1912.
[7] Fragm. 21 (ed. Müller) *ap.* Letronne, *Matériaux...*, II, 205 ff. Priscus is a good authority as he was in Egypt at the time and a friend of the general.

The statement of Eusebius[1] that so early as the reign of Constantine (313–337) Christianity had penetrated to the Ethiopians and BLEMYES refers to the Abyssinians and Troglodytes converted by Frumentius in the east[2], but it is none the less probable that there were Christians in Nūbia at the same period, and the record of Cosmus Indicopleustes prove that there were some there in the fifth century[3].

XXVIII In the sixth century conversion took place on a larger scale. A certain priest named Julianus "...was greatly concerned for the black people of the Nobades, who lived on the southern border of the Thebaid, and as they were heathen he wished to convert them...." He accordingly persuaded Theodora, the Empress of Justinian, to send him on a mission to Nūbia. There he "taught and baptized the king and the nobles, and...thus were all the people of Kushites converted to the orthodox faith[4], and they became subjects of the throne of Alexandria[5]."

By the latter half of the century[6] northern Nūbia had been formed into a Christian kingdom under Silko, the king whose Greek inscription was found in the temple of Talmis (Kalabsha). It is not unlikely that he was the actual convert of Julianus, and he was almost certainly the founder of Dongola, which was to remain the capital of Nūbia for the seven centuries during which that country barred the progress of the Arabs and their religion from the upper valley of the Nile.

XXIX But when all is said we know very little of the state of affairs in Nūbia in Silko's time or of the people over whom he ruled, their racial characteristics, their customs, or their polity.

They were it seems almost continuously at war with the still pagan BLEMYES[7] who occupied the lower valley of the Nile from Primis (Ibrim) to the frontiers of Egypt; and Silko also speaks of his raids against "the others, above [*i.e. south of*] the Nobadae[8]."

[1] *Vit. Constantini*, I, 8, *ap.* Letronne, *loc. cit.* [2] See I, 1, XX above.

[3] See Butler, note to Abu Ṣáliḥ, pp. 265, 266.

[4] *I.e.* the monophysite beliefs. The narrator was a Jacobite or monophysite Christian.

[5] Translated by Budge (II, 295) from the Syriac of Barhebraeus's *Ecclesiastical History*. Barhebraeus, or Abu el Farág, drew upon the earlier work of John of Ephesus. Letronne quotes Pococke's Latin translation. Budge places Julianus's date between 540 and 548. Barhebraeus elsewhere, speaking inaccurately and in contradiction to the passage quoted, says that in the reign of Constantine were converted "all the negroes, such as Ethiopians, Nubians and others" (see Letronne, *loc. cit.*).

[6] So Letronne dates the inscription of Silko.

[7] The inscription of Silko says: *ἐποίησα εἰρήνην μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὤμοσαν μοι τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν*, "I made peace with them and they swore to me by their idols." They were converted shortly afterwards.

[8] The Greek is *οἱ ἄλλοι Νουβάδων ἀνωτέρω*. Budge (II, 292–3) wrongly translates "the other Nobades": Letronne is correct. These others, "the other kings"

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depth all along it, or if one prefer there is a more direct route, that followed by the Turks in 1821 and by most of the Arab caravans, *via* the deeper desert wells of el Ṣáfia, Ḥóbagi, and Elai. Further west and very roughly parallel to the Wádi el Muḳaddam is the similar Wádi el Melik running from the Dárfūr border into the Nile at Debba, only forty-five miles west of Korti.

At el 'Ayn on this Wádi and at Abu Sufián to the west of it are similar traces of human occupation well known to the nomads[1], and at the southern end of it near the Dárfūr border they are very common indeed.

XXXII In these parts the underground water supply has decreased to a very striking extent of late years, and that in ancient days the rainfall was considerably more heavy is proved, I think, by the presence of gigantic baobabs (*tubeldi*: *Adansonia digitata*) that are centuries old and could hardly have passed through the early stages of growth had the country been as dry as it now is. Some hundreds of years ago the country on both sides of the two great Wádis mentioned may have been habitable all the year through[2].

XXXIII Now it is certain that in past centuries DANÁGLA from the Nile have settled at el Ḥaráza, and fresh colonies have joined the older ones within recent years[3]. It is also believed by the people of Gebel Midób in Dárfūr, about 140 miles west of the Wádi el Melik, that their ancestors were MAḤASS and DANÁGLA from the Nile[4], and, as Professor Seligman has pointed out[5], there are very close linguistic resemblances between a list of their numerals which I collected in 1912[6] and those of the BARÁBRA on the river.

Emigrant BARÁBRA may have reached Gebel Mídób by way of el Ḥaráza and Kága, or more probably by way of the Wádi el Melik[7]. But if BARÁBRA from Korti and Debba, which are between the third and fourth cataracts and only a few miles from the pyramids of Barkal, could settle at el Ḥaráza, as we know they did, and at Midób, as we may be fairly sure they did[8], there is no reason to deny the probability of corresponding movements along the same lines in the

[1] I have not visited personally these two sites.

[2] During six years that I passed in northern Kordofán I never saw a young baobab growing self-sown. The Arabs also declare there is no such thing and say the "tubeldis" date from the time of Noah.

[3] For details see MacMichael, *Tribes*..., Chap. VI.

[4] *Ibid.* Chap. VII. Matrilinear descent with inheritance by the sister's son still holds good at Mídób as it did in Christian Dongola. See p. 59.

[5] *Loc. cit.* Cf. the vocabularies of Kenūz and Nūbians given by Burckhardt.

[6] Published in *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* XLII, 1912, p. 339.

[7] Marauders from Mídób and thereabouts follow this line in the rainy season and early winter when raiding the Arabs.

[8] See Part I, Chap. 4.

opposite direction at other times, and I am strongly inclined to think that the NOBATAE were once lords of the Bayūda and the country south of it and that their negro ancestors may have previously ousted the Libyan races therefrom, or, more probably, become fused with them in race.

XXXIV The *nehes* of Senusert III and Thothmes I, and, to a modified extent, most of the western and southern subjects of the Nūbian dynasty which ruled Egypt, may have been of the same stock as these negro ancestors of the NOBATAE and their partly Libyanized descendants respectively; and if the racial substratum was the same, it is natural to suppose that the extent and direction of migration to and from the river were at different periods regulated by the weakness or strength, as the case might be, of other and hostile races living on the Nile.

For instance, when the tide of negro invasion was rolled back from northern Nūbia in the time of the New Empire, most would retire southwards along the river, but the presence of alien Nilotic negroes in their path, or other causes, may have led a proportion to move westwards, where their kin may or may not have been already established. If the same stock, as modified by Libyan admixture, was strong enough at a later date to support the Nūbian Empire of Napata it was by then probably predominant also in northern Kordofán, and a steady intercourse would naturally exist between the riverain and western groups, until the third century B.C. when Eratosthenes spoke of them collectively as Νοῦβαι.

In any case there is evidence of a close connection between the negro invaders of the second millennium B.C., the rank and file of the Nūbians who conquered Egypt under the twenty-fifth dynasty, the inhabitants of the Gezira at the same period, the present inhabitants of the NŪBA mountains of southern Kordofán, the NOBATAE of Lower Nūbia, and the so-called NŪBA of northern Kordofán.

XXXV The weakest link in the chain is perhaps that connecting northern and southern Kordofán, but even here, at the present day, though the general physique is obviously quite different, there is a common fund of superstitions connected with rainmakers and serpents, and recognizable cranial resemblances[1].

[1] Particularly the flattening of the fronto-parietal region. This was pointed out to me in 1912 at Kága by Professor Seligman (*q.v.* in *Harvard African Studies*, II; *Varia Africana*, II, 181). It may be worth mentioning in this connection that some years ago I was told at Kága that the ancient ("Anag") population used to bury their dead upright. Lepsius was told the same of *Southern* Kordofán (*Discoveries...*, pp. 221–2). Kordofán takes its name from the hill of that name close to el Obeid. As used by the natives the name does not properly apply to the nomad country to the north nor to the Kága-Ḥaráza group of hills adjoining it nor to the Nūba mountains in the south. See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, App. I.

XXXVI Other minor points that possibly serve to connect the old inhabitants of central and northern Kordofán with the people who lived at the time of the twenty-fifth dynasty in the Gezira, and even east of it, are, firstly, the occurrence of tumuli, exactly similar to those described above, both on the Kerreri hills close to Omdurman and on the small rocky eminences, such as Gebel el Ḳehayd, round Wad Ḥasūna and Abu Delayḳ[1], and, secondly, the similarity between the contents of some middens[2] I found at Faragáb in Central Kordofán near Bára and objects found at Gebel Moya (*e.g.* ostrich-egg beads[3]) and at Meroe[4], and, thirdly, the finding of flat stone rings which may conceivably have been ceremonial mace-heads, or in some cases weapons of offence, but which, I think, are more likely to have been weights[5], or stands for round-bottomed jars, both in the

[1] Both several days' journey east of Khartoum.

[2] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Appendix and Plate XIX, and Seligman in *Annals of Arch. and Anthr.* July 1916.

[3] These ostrich-egg beads also provide a link with the Northern Nūba hills. Pallme (p. 156) speaks of the people of the latter (Daier, Teḳali, etc.) as wearing round their loins "a number of small buttons of about the size of a shirt-button, made of the shell of the ostrich's egg, with a perforation in the centre, through which a string is passed, connecting them together. I took the trouble," he says, "of counting the single buttons of one of these ribbons in my possession, and found a total number of 6860."

At the same time the use of ostrich-egg beads is not confined to the Nūba stock. The Shilluk men commonly wear girdles made of them. They break the shell into irregular bits, pierce the fragment in the centre, and then round off the edges by crushing (Westermann, p. xxxi).

[4] See Seligman, *loc. cit.*, discussing these resemblances, especially that between the types of pottery at Meroe and Faragáb. He thinks that "At a somewhat remote period—perhaps at least as far back as the Ptolemaic—the Faragáb site was occupied by a people rich in cattle, living in huts of grass or straw, and using bone points for their weapons; a people rich in ivory, which they worked with implements of stone."

[5] MacMichael, *loc. cit.* Plate II. Some of these—they are in the museum at Khartoum—are porphyrite, felsite, gneiss, or granite, *i.e.* as at Bása, but most are of soft sandstone and too light and friable for use as weapons. The Nūbas of southern Kordofán use *spherical* stone-headed clubs (Seligman, "A Neolithic Site..." *Journ. R. A. I.* XL, 1910). The stone rings from Ḳayli, of which I have collected numbers and which, though rougher in workmanship, are exactly the same as some of those from northern Kordofán, are dated by Crowfoot from about A.D. 150 to A.D. 350 (Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 214).

In ancient as in modern Egypt there were public weighers, and money was in the form of rings of gold and silver, and was also tested by its weight. Wilkinson, speaking of these rings, says: "And it is remarkable that the same currency is today employed in Sennár and the neighbouring countries." Furthermore, he notes, "The Jews also weighed their money. Their weights were of stone; and the word weight in Hebrew...also means a stone" (*Manners and Customs...*, II, 10, 11). The illustrations from Thebes depicted by Wilkinson show that these weights were very like the stone rings of Meroe, and the latter may possibly have been made in imitation of the Egyptian system. Cp. also Breasted, *Hist.* p. 92, for the metal rings. He adds that "stone weights were...marked with their equivalence in such rings. This ring money is the oldest currency known." The most ancient coinage of Dárfūr also took the form of rings. "Le premier genre de numéraire qui fut établi au Dârfour,

northern hills of Kordofán, at Gebel Moya, Gebel Ḳayli (on the Khartoum-Kassala road), in front of the altar at Bása[1], and in fact all over the Island of Meroe.

XXXVII One may say then that when the Muhammadan Arabs invaded Lower Nūbia in the seventh century A.D. they found there a race radically compounded of pre-dynastic Egyptian and cognate Hamitic elements blended with dynastic Egyptian and Libyan stocks and deeply and repeatedly modified by forty centuries of dilution with Negro blood[2]. One of the two main Negro strains was probably derived from Kordofán and the Gezíra and in classical times had been represented in modified form by the NOBATAE or NŪBA.

XXXVIII As further evidence of a fusion of Nūba and Libyan elements in the Bayūda and west of it another fact may be cited.

So late as the seventeenth century A.D.[3] the Bayūda was still known, as it had been a century earlier to Leo Africanus, as the Desert of Goran, or Gorham, or Gorhan, a name connected with "ḲORA'ÁN" and, as I believe, with "Garama" and "Garamantes[4]."

XXXIX These ḲURA'ÁN ("GURAAN"), whom el Hamdáni[5], by the way, includes with the NŪBA, ZING and ZAGHÁWA as descendants of Canaan, son of Ham, are a mixture of TIBBU and negro and at the present day they form a large nomadic section of that race in the deserts north of Dárfūr and Wadái[6], and are commonly spoken of as "TIBBU ḲURA'ÁN." Their language is a dialect of TIBBU.

Of the TIBBU Keane says:

> The Tibu themselves, apparently direct descendants of the ancient Garamantes, have their primeval home in the Tibesti range, *i.e.* the "Rocky Mountains," whence they take their name (Ti-bu = "Rock People"). There are two distinct sections, the northern Tedas, a name recalling the Tedamansii, a branch of Garamantes located by Ptolemy somewhere

le fut par les habitants du Fâcher....Ils prirent pour monnaie des anneaux d'étain..." (Tūnisi, *Voy. au Dârfour*, p. 315). On the whole, however, I lean to the theory that these rings of stone were simply stands on which to balance jars (Crowfoot in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Apr. 1920, p. 91).

[1] Crowfoot, "Island of Meroe" (Mem. XIX, *Arch. Surv. Nub.* pp. 16, 17, and Plate XI).

[2] Cp. Elliot Smith, *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, Bull. III, 1909, pp. 22 ff.

[3] See R. Blome's *Geographical Description*... (1670) quoted in the Hakluyt ed. of Leo Africanus, I, 28.

[4] I have discussed this subject more fully in an Appendix to *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*.

[5] See Maḳrízi, *Khetáṭ*, II, 571.

[6] The name Ḳura'án also occurs in Arabia as that of a section of Ḥuwayṭát near Ḍiba on the Red Sea coast. Burton (*Land of Midian*, II, 97) mentions these people: he says that the port of Dumaygha belongs to the Beli ("Baliyy") who are "mixed with a few Kura'án-Huwaytat and Karaizah-Hutaym." Burckhardt (*Nubia*, p. 510), commenting on the passage from el Hamdáni, says: "The Negroe Moslims to this day apply the name of Koran indiscriminately to all the pagan Negro nations."

between Tripolitana and Phazania (Fezzan); and the Southern Dazas, through whom the Tibu merge gradually in the negroid populations of [the] central Sudan. This intermingling with the blacks dates from remote times, whence Ptolemy's remark that the Garamantes seemed rather more "Ethiopians" than Libyans....The full-blood Tibus...are true Hamites[1].

XL The accounts given by Herodotus, Ptolemy and Pomponius Mela[2] give an impression of the Garamantes as a nomad race extending from north of Fezzán as far south as Nūbia.

Herodotus says: "The Garamantians have four-horse chariots in which they chase the Troglodyte Ethiopians[3]," and Ptolemy "Some very great races inhabit Labya, namely that of the Garamantes which extends from the sources of the river Bagrada as far as the lake of Nūba,"...&c.[4]

XLI Again, more than a millennium later, we have Leo (fl. 1513–15) saying[5]:

> Nubia...is enclosed on the south side with the desert of Goran. The king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people called Zingani[6] inhabite the deserts and speaks a kinde of language that no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certain other people... (*i.e.* the "Bugiha" or Bega[7]).

XLII On the strength of these quotations alone, one would, I think, be justified in assuming that, just as for many years before the Christian era there had been contact and fusion between the dark Nūbians and the Libyan races descended from the TEMEHU in the country between Dongola and Dárfūr, so, too, in the Christian period there was similar contact between the NŪBA (NOBATAE) and the TIBBU in that region.

[1] *Man: Past and Present*, p. 474. The latest anthropological researches in no way clash with Keane's view. MM. Gaillard and Poutrin, authors of *Étude anthropologique des populations des régions du Tchad et du Kanem*, agree that they are largely Berbers, and measurements shewed that they "belong to a physical type closely resembling the Nigritians of the Sahara" (Review in *Man*, March 1915). Carette (*loc. cit.* p. 312) also says that the Tibbu and Tuwárek are by origin Lamta Berbers. Nachtigal regarded them as a "population intermediate between the indigenous peoples of North Africa and the Negroes of the Sudan" (Vol. II of *Sah. und Sudân*, quoted by Carbou, I, 120).

[2] *De Situ Orbis*, ch. IV.

[3] Bk. IV, chaps. 174, 183.

[4] Bk. IV, p. 742. *καὶ μέγιστα μὲν ἔθνη κατανέμεται τὴν Λιβύην τά τε τῶν Γαραμάντων διῆκον ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Βαγράδα ποταμοῦ πηγῶν μέχρι τῆς Νούβα λίμνης...καὶ....*

[5] II, 836. For the Zingani see p. 56. Marmol's version of the passage quoted is: "Le prince [*i.e.* of Dongola] a guerre ordinairement tantost contre ceux de Gorhan, qui est une espèce d'Egyptiens qui courent par les deserts et parlent un langage particulier, tantost contre les peuples qui demeurent au Levant du Nil dans le desert" (trans. Perrot, III, 71 ff.). Marmol flourished about 1520.

[6] Leo's original is "una generazione di zingani" (see Carbou, I, 118).

[7] For further remarks on the Ḳura'án of the present day see Chap. 4 of this Part.

A strong argument for the hypothesis is also provided by the case, already quoted, of Gebel Midób, where we have a negro-Hamitic population claiming relationship with the Nūbians of the Nile and speaking a language akin to that of the latter[1].

XLIII Further evidence is perhaps to be found in the rock-pictures at Shaláshi[2] one of the small hills composing the Ḥaráza range on the southern fringe of the meeting-ground of the two races. These are very similar in type to those which occur elsewhere throughout that portion of North Africa which has been principally subjected to Libyan influences[3].

XLIV At what date the modified NŪBA stock in northern Kordofán was replaced in the plains by the nomad Arabs it is hard to say, but the KABÁBÍSH insist that only some five or six generations ago their grandfathers were still engaged in extirpating "NŪBA" from the small and less easily defensible hills. The country is so eminently suitable for camel-breeding that the Arab is not likely to have overlooked it when he first began to settle in the Sudan. The orographical, hydrographical and climatic conditions and the vegetation of northern and central Kordofán all wonderfully resemble those of the Arabian highlands: it is a land of steppes and pasture with sufficient water obtainable for the scanty needs of the nomad: it is not given over to the agriculturist and there are no great mountain chains to impede free roaming. But in Leo's time, early in the sixteenth

[1] The case of the Birḳed of south-central Dárfūr, who also speak a language closely akin to that of the Barábra will be dealt with in Chap. 4 of this Part.

[2] Lejean saw them and gave a highly fanciful and misleading description of them, which is quoted by Hartmann in *Die Nigritier* (Berlin, 1876, p. 41). I copied them as closely as I could in 1908, and published the result with some notes in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXIX, 1909. They are quite distinct in type to the rudely engraved (or sometimes painted) "uncouth outlines in shepherd's ruddle" which occur on other hills at el Ḥaráza, near Fóga in western Kordofán, at G. Daier on the northern fringe of Dár Nūba, in Somaliland, in Arabia, and all over the Tuwárek country, and which by the inclusion of the camel prove themselves not earlier than the beginning of the Christian era, and may be much more recent since the natives of the present day in the Sudan draw such, *e.g.* on the walls of rooms. The pictures at Shaláshi are full of life and movement and are graceful and well proportioned: they are in red and white pigment, and represent men on horseback; also giraffes and hyenas. See *L'Anthropologie*, XII, 1901 (Flamand) for pictures of this type; and for the ruder type *L'Anthropologie*, VIII, 1897 (Flamand); XVII, 1906 (Carette-Bouvet); XV, 1904 (Gautier); *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIV, 1914 (Zeltner); etc.

[3] One of the ancient place-names in the same locality is also curiously suggestive. At Kága, some 100 miles west of el Ḥaráza, is a large outstanding hill called Bakaláí, a name which recalls a passage, following on mention of the island of Meroe and the tribes south of it, in Ptolemy's *Geography*: "In the rest of the country, but farther west of the Ethiopian hills, in the sandy and waterless region, dwell the races of Phazania [Fezzán] and Bakalitis." See Ptolemy, Bk. III, p. 783, ed. Müller: *τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τῆς χώρας δυσμιχώτερα δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν ὀρέων κατέχουσι μετὰ τὴν δίαμμον καὶ ἄβροχον χώραν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Φαζανίαν καὶ Βακαλῖτιν.* Barth (IV, 580) identifies Ptolemy's Bakalitis with Wárgelá, far to the north.

century, it seems to have been still held by the darker people whose affinities we have discussed. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Arab element entered the country from two sides. In the first place the nomads came in from the direction of Dongola and soon obtained a predominance in the plains north of the latitude of Kága. Here at the present day the so-called NŪBA, whose type ranges from the negroid to the debased Arab, and a smattering of DANÁGLA, hold only the largest of the hills, el Ḥaráza, Kága, Katūl, Um Durrag, and Abu Ḥadíd, which alone possess a water supply sufficient to support their population. They live in comparative amity with the nomads, and are not afraid to place their villages at the foot of the hills instead of, as previously, on the slopes, and to cultivate and graze in the plain. In a few generations they seem likely to be indistinguishable from the sedentary inhabitants of central Kordofán.

XLV In the second place, in the sixteenth century the allied forces of FUNG and Arab, having ṭaken Sóba and Ḳerri from the 'ANAG or NŪBA and founded the kingdom of Sennár, began to push northwards and westwards. By the middle of the following century they had begun definitely to assert themselves in central Kordofán. The population there in all probability was still essentially NŪBA, but it may already have become to some extent adulterated with the negroid Dárfūrian races[1], some remnants of whom still exist in the northern hills and further south.

[1] *Q.v.* Chap. 4. For an account of the people of el Ḥaráza, Kága, etc. see Chap. VI of my *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*. They are still known as Nūba and the common people call themselves so. Their subdivisions shew traces of totemistic origin: five of them are named respectively (in Arabic) "Cattlefolk," "Ratfolk," "Sheepfolk," "Woodfolk," "Horsefolk." For this subject refer to Robertson Smith, pp. 186 ff. and 217 ff., and for other examples see p. 94 *et passim*.

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Armenoid influences and not to immigration by the brachycephalic Arab population of the Ḥegáz and the Yemen because

> where the Semite (Arab) and Hamite have mixed the latter have ever adopted the language of the former, and when mixed people have arisen I think it can be said that they are more Arab than Hamite. It is clear that nothing of this sort has happened in the Red Sea Province of the Sudan....It is obvious that while the Bisharin have been most modified by the foreign round-headed element, the Beni Amer are the least influenced, so that, broadly speaking, their physical characters may be taken to be those of the original Bega inhabitants of the eastern desert[1].

III One notes in this conjunction that non-Bega traditions, as preserved in the native *nisbas*, are united in attributing to the BENI 'ÁMIR an Arab descent which is denied to the BISHÁRÍN and HADENDOA: "BENI 'ÁMIR" too is a purely Arab name. If the greater brachycephaly of the BISHÁRÍN and HADENDOA were due to Arab immigration it is not unlikely that the fact would have been reflected, rather than tacitly contradicted, in the traditions.

IV A comparison between the physical characteristics of the BEGA of the present and of the pre-dynastic Egyptians and the Nūbian contemporaries of the latter shews very marked resemblances to exist, and, as Professor Seligman says,

> it seems...that it is justifiable to regard the Beni Amer, the least modified of the Bega tribes, as the modern representatives of the old pre-dynastic (and Nubian) stock, and it further appears that the modification undergone by the latter during a period of some 7000 or more years is extremely small[2].

V Very closely related to the BEGA tribes are the 'ABÁBDA, whose habitat is from Aswán and Kena to the Red Sea and of whom a lesser branch live east of Berber.

Reisner compares them with the Middle Nūbians ("C Group") on the one hand and with the present-day Beduin of Lower Egypt on the other. Like the former they have been "metamorphosed by a cross with the negro" and therefore resemble the BARÁBRA in race[3]; but if tradition be any guide they have more Arab blood in their veins than the BARÁBRA[4].

VI One may say then, in short, that when the Arabs invaded the

[1] Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 603, 604.
[2] *Loc. cit.* pp. 606, 607.
[3] Giuffrida Ruggeri, *loc. cit.* pp. 51–54.
[4] See Part IV (index), and cp. G. A. Hoskins quoted by Cameron (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* Feb. 1887, "On the Tribes of the Eastern Sudan"). In one case at least a whole section of them have joined a nomad Sudanese Arab tribe, viz. the Kawáhla in Kordofán, *en bloc* and to all intents become an integral part of them. (See Part III, Chap. 9.)

eastern desert they met in the interior a race of Proto-Egyptian origin which was more modified in the north by Negro and Armenoid influences than in the south and which was distinctly akin to the riverain peoples. It may be added, and further justification will appear later for the statement, that if there are not traces of Ḥimyaritic infusion to be found among the more southernly of these BEGA tribes, it is a very remarkable fact.

VII Now in the classical period there are frequent allusions to a people called the BLEMYES on the east bank of the Nile. These BLEMYES have commonly been assumed to represent the same people as the BEGA, but hitherto this has remained "a mere theory, at present undemonstrated[1]."

VIII Claudian[2] (born c. 365 A.D.), Ammianus Marcellinus[3] (c. 320–390 A.D.), Sulpicius Severus[4], Palladius[5] and Olympiodorus[6] refer to the BLEMYES as close to Syene (Aswán) and the cataracts.

Olympiodorus actually visited their country between 407 and 425 A.D.: he specifies Primis (Ibrim, 60 to 70 miles below Ḥalfa) as their last city on the Nile; and the inscription of Silko, who warred with them in the sixth century, corroborates this[7]. It is also clear that they were a race of invaders holding in subjection the older Nūbian and negro population[8], and practically dominating the whole of the Thebaid[9].

The name of BLEMYES was, however, also applied to the desert nomads, presumably BEGA, near the Red Sea, for we read in the Acts of the Martyrs of Raïthe[10] of some three hundred BLEMYES embarking about 378 A.D. on a vessel of Aïla which they had taken near the Ethiopian coast and sailing along the Red Sea to attack Raïthe. But it would not be legitimate to insist for this reason that the nomads of

[1] Crowfoot, "The Island of Meroe," *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, XIX, 35.

[2] *Carmen de Nilo*, V, 19:

> "Inde vago lapsu Libyam dispersus in omnem
> Aethiopum per mille ruit nigrantia regna,
> Et loca continuo Solis damnata vapore
> Inrorat, populisque salus sitientibus errat,
> Per Meroen, Blemyasque feros, atramque Syenen."

[3] Bk. XIV, Ch. IV, sect. 3. (Also quoted by Quatremère, II (*Mém. sur les Blemmyes*), from *Etymologicon Magnum*, p. 13.)

[4] Vitae Patrum, p. 542 (*ap.* Quatremère, *loc. cit.*, and Letronne).

[5] *Hist. Lausiac.* (*ap.* Quatremère, *loc. cit.*, and Letronne).

[6] *Ap.* Photium, *Bibliothec.* Cod. LXXX, p. 194 (*ap.* Quatremère, *loc. cit.*).

[7] See Chap. I.

[8] H. R. Hall, Review of the Publications of the E. B. Coxe, Jnr. Expedition to Nubia, *Man*, May 1912.

[9] See Milne, p. 81.

[10] *Illustrium Christi Martyrum lecti triumphi*, pp. 107–109, quoted by Letronne (*loc. cit.*) and Quatremère, II, 130 and 133. Raïthe is near Sinai.

the eastern desert really bore this name as it was common to misapply some known name to any unknown folk who appeared similar[1].

Eratosthenes[2], Theocritus[3], Ptolemaeus[4], Procopius[5] and Vopiscus[6] refer to the BLEMYES in terms which would make their main habitat round Aswán extend much further southwards and eastwards towards the territories of Axum and Adulis, and are clearly referring to the country which we know was peopled then as now by BEGA[7].

The inscriptions of Axum and Adulis, though enumerating the peoples between Abyssinia and Egypt who were conquered by the king of Axum, make no mention of the BLEMYES by name, but speak instead of TANGAÏTES and BOGAITES (BEGA).

IX One concludes, therefore, with Letronne, that the people who called themselves BLEMYES lived chiefly in the valley of the Nile below Nūbia on the confines of Egypt, and the people of the east and south-east between the Nile and the Red Sea, to whom the historians mentioned vaguely gave the same name, called themselves something else. In fact, early Christian writers were very haphazard in their nomenclature and used the name BLEMYES to represent the BEGA who seemed to be much the same type of people.

X The BEGA were essentially a nomad folk and the BLEMYES primarily sedentary and riverain[8], and there can be little doubt that the BLEMYES were originally a branch of the BEGA who had settled on the river and abandoned the nomadic life.

A similar tendency has been and still is very marked all along the Nile valley. It has already been suggested that there was probably a similar connection at one time on the western side between the riverain Nūbians and the nomad NOBATAE; and in more modern times the forbears of many of the "Arabs" at present settled on the river were wont a few generations ago to lead a nomad life inland.

This is not to deny many cases of a movement in the contrary

[1] Letronne (*loc. cit.*).

[2] *Ap.* Strabo, p. 786.

[3] *Idyll*, VII, 114:

"ἐν δὲ θέρει πυμάτοισι παρ' Αἰθιόπεσσι νομεύοις
πέτρᾳ ὕπο Βλεμύων, ὅθεν οὐκέτι Νεῖλος ὅρατος."

Theocritus was born 290 B.C. and died very old.

[4] Bk. IV, Ch. VIII. He follows Eratosthenes. His date is about 500–565 A.D.

[5] *De Bello Persico*, I, 19, p. 59. He places them east of the Nile between Axum and Elephantine (Aswán).

[6] In *Hist. Augustae Scriptores*, pp. 220 and 239, quoted by Quatremère, *loc. cit.*, and Letronne, *loc. cit.*

[7] Letronne, *loc. cit.*

[8] Woolley and McIver have shown that the old ruin called Karanóg near Ibrím was the castle of a Blemyan chief. See *Karanóg: the Cemetery* (1910) and *Karanóg: the Town* (1911) in the Publications of the E. B. Coxe, Jnr. Expedition to Nubia, Univ. Museum, Philadelphia (reviewed by H. R. Hall in *Man*, May 1912).

direction: the two tendencies may even be at work contemporaneously, and the movement is definitely directed one way or the other at any particular period by the political conditions of the moment.

XI Whenever mention is made of BEGA or BLEMYES by classical or mediaeval historians it is, I believe, always in connection with the eastern bank of the river and the eastern deserts. There is hardly a suggestion that there were also BEGA or BLEMYES to the west of the river.

A passage in Pomponius Mela would naturally be taken, as Quatremère[1] and Letronne apparently do take it, to mean that the Blemyes, or rather some of them, were west of the Nile: he says:

> Above those parts which are washed by the Libyan sea are the Egyptian Libyans and the Leucoaethiopes and the large nation of the Getuli with its numerous branches. Beyond these is a vast empty region, uninhabitable throughout its length. Beyond it again [are other races]. Beginning from the east these are first the Garamantae, then the Augilae and the Troglodytae, and lastly and furthest west the Atlantes. Further inland are people who, if one may believe it, are scarcely human, but rather half-wild-beasts, the Aegipanes and Blemmyae and Gamphafantes and Satyri, who wander about without any settled habitation and may be said rather to occupy than to dwell in the country[2].

But this passage does not necessarily bear the interpretation that the BLEMYES were west of the Nile, and if it did need not be accepted as strictly accurate, for as we have seen there is the evidence of a perfect host of writers to the contrary. If Mela thought that the bulk of the BLEMYES were west of the Nile he was certainly wrong: if he did not the passage has no value as evidence that they were there. Strabo, who ascended the Nile with Aelius Gallus in 24 B.C., quotes Eratosthenes to the following effect[3]:

> Lower down, on either side of Meroe, along the Nile [and] towards the Red Sea, are Megabari and Blemyes, subject to the Ethiopians and

[1] II, 128. "Pomponius Mela...les place dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique au delà les Garamantes."

[2] "Super ea quae Libyco mari abluuntur Libyes Aegyptii sunt, et Leucoaethiopes et natio frequens multiplexque Getuli. Deinde late vacat regio perpetuo tractu inhabitabilis. Tum primos ab oriente Garamantas, post Augilas et Troglodytas et ultimos ad occasum Atlantas audimus. Intra (si credere libet) vix iam homines magisque semiferi Aegipanes et Blemmyae et Gamphasantes et Satyri sine tectis passim ac sedibus vagi habent potius terras quam habitent." (Pomp. Mela, *de Situ Orbis*, Ch. IV.)

[3] *τὰ δὲ κατωτέρω ἑκατέρωθεν* Μερόης, *παρὰ μὲν τὸν* Νεῖλον *πρὸς τὴν* Ἐρυθρὰν Μεγάβαροι *καὶ* Βλέμυες, Αἰθιόπων *ὑπακούντες* Αἰγυπτίοις δ' *ὅμοροι...ἐξ ἀριστερῶν δὲ*...&c. (Strabo, XVII, 1, 53).

Budge (II, 174) says of the "tribes of the Eastern Desert" about the third century "it is said that these tribes had settlements even in the oasis of Kharga," but no authority for the statement is quoted. Maḳrízi (*Kheṭáṭ*, 561–571) quotes a very full description of the Bega from Ibn Selím, who lived in the tenth century, but there is no hint in it of any Bega west of the Nile.

neighbours of the Egyptians...*but* on the left side of the course of the Nile live the Noubai..." (etc., as quoted in Chap. 2).

XII Having once settled on the river the BLEMYES were strongly influenced by the contemporary Ethiopian civilization of Meroe.

"It is certain," says Crowfoot, "that in the fifth century or earlier Kinglets of the Blemyes used the Greek tongue and aped much of the complicated ceremonial of a Byzantine court...by virtue of a common script and mutual indebtedness to Egypt they stand in close relation with the rulers of Meroe[1]."

XIII The account given by Olympiodorus at the beginning of the fifth century, the terms of the peace recorded by Priscus as made a few years later between them and the Romans, and the inscription of Talmis in the following century prove that they were still pagans about the middle of the sixth century. Apparently they worshipped Isis at Philae previous to their conversion[2]. But Procopius, writing about the middle of the same century, and mentioning this, also adds that they used to sacrifice men to the Sun[3], and it is almost certain that, as a matter of fact, their chief religious place was at Talmis where the temple is known to have been sacred to the Sun worshipped under the name of Mandoulis, and that for that reason Talmis was chosen by the invading Silko as the site for his inscription[4].

The BLEMYES may have been converted to Christianity as a result of Silko's expedition, or perhaps he or his successors so crushed them that they ceased to exist as a separate race. In any case, when the Muhammadans, less than a century later, invaded the country south of Aswán we hear nothing of "BLEMYES," and the population was simply "NŪBA" and Christian[5].

XIV An even more difficult problem is presented by the country which lay a little further south. As already mentioned the capital of the Libyo-Nūbian kings who conquered Egypt in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. and of their immediate successors was at

[1] *Arch. Surv. Nub.* XIX, 35, 36. Cp. Hall (*Man*, May 1912); he says: "If the people of Karanóg were Blemmyes the Blemmyes spoke and wrote in Meroitic."

[2] We have seen (Chap. 2) that the statement of Eusebius to the effect that as early as the reign of Constantine Christianity had penetrated to the Ethiopians and Blemyes refers to the people of Abyssinia and the Troglodytic whom Frumentius converted, and not to the riverain Blemyes with whom Silko fought.

[3] *De Bello Persico*, I, 60 of edn 1662, quoted by Quatremère (II, 133).

[4] Letronne, *loc. cit.* There were also at Meroe temples sacred to Isis and to the Sun respectively, dating from the sixth or seventh century B.C. (see p. 9 above).

[5] It may be noted here that Herodotus divided the Ethiopian race into Eastern Ethiopians with straight hair, that is the Bega and suchlike, and Western Ethiopians ("they of Libya") with curly hair, that is the negroids, each group speaking a different language. (Bk. VII, 70. The context is the composition of the army of Xerxes.)

Napata, but probably by 440 B.C. the political headquarters had been shifted to Meroe, about two hundred miles away to the south-east near the junction of the Atbara with the Nile, the religious capital remaining, as before, at Napata.

The original substratum of population in the country round Meroe, or at least to the south and east of it, may have consisted of that same red-brown race which is held once to have occupied the banks of the Nile, the south-western littoral of Asia and the Red Sea coast[1]; but by the first millennium B.C., if not long before, this race must have become submerged in the negro hordes which had surged up from the south and acquired predominance in the Nile valley.

XV The earliest extant remains at Meroe prove that, though the population was predominantly negro in the fourth and fifth century B.C., Egyptian motives in art and manners were still predominant, and that they continued so until about the third century B.C. The account of Meroe given by Herodotus[2] (c. 450 B.C.) is evidence leading to the same conclusion; but before we deal with this and with the scraps of information left us by later Greek and Roman geographers a digression is necessary to point out that there was apparently another cultural influence at work besides that of Egypt.

XVI We have already had occasion to note the continued connection between Abyssinia, the Nile valley and the Yemen of Arabia, which probably began at least four or five thousand years before the Christian era and became intimate in the second and first millennia B.C.[3] The temples of Meroe, the Sun Temple, the Lion Temple, and the original Temple of Isis, all of which belong to the "Early Meroitic" period, and the sitting stone lions of Bása, Náḳa, el Muṣowwarát, Um Sóda and Sóba are certainly connected with the Sun Temple of Talmis[4], the two lions before the great pylon of the temple of Isis at Philae, and, one supposes, with those sitting "dogs" which Bruce saw in Abyssinia and which Heeren and Crowfoot unite in thinking were lions of the same type as those at Bása and the other places mentioned[5].

"In Abyssinia," Ḃent considers[6], "Christianity must have succeeded a form of Sabaean sun-worship; the monoliths and altars all point to this; and in the ritual of their church we can still clearly see traces of this cult. The nightly services which end at sunrise, the circular churches with four

[1] Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 61, 79.
[2] Bk. II, 29.
[3] See Chap. I.
[4] Sun worship was, of course, prevalent in ancient Egypt from the time of the Old Kingdom: see Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 59, 62, etc.
[5] Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 23. Stone lions of this type are rare in Egypt.
[6] *The Sacred City*..., p. 83, and cp. *ibid.* pp. 138–197 and 231–293.

doors orientated to the four points of the compass, the sacred groves surrounding the churches, and the dancing of the priests—all recall what we know of Baal worship, which was closely akin to the sun-worship of Southern Arabia."

He remarks in this connection on the suggestiveness of Herodotus's statement[1] that "Ethiopia borders on the Southern Sea and the table of the Sun in Ethiopia is a meadow on the skirts of their town full of the boiled flesh of all manner of beasts." The ancient Abyssinian capital of this Sabaean or Ḥimyaritic colonization was Ava (Yeha), where there are monoliths, "a mass of Himyaritic inscriptions," and a sun-temple. Its founders (the "Avalitae"?) are supposed to have been traders in the first instance, but as they increased in numbers and strength and were reinforced by their kin from over the Red Sea they succeeded in imposing their language, their religious rites, and to some extent their racial type, upon northern Abyssinia. Its name of Ava is presumably connected with the Sabaean worship of Baal-Ava. The capital was subsequently removed to Axum, also a Ḥimyarite foundation with monoliths and "a highly perfected form of stone worship associated with sacrifices to the Sun."

Resemblances between the later Meroitic architecture of el Muṣowwarát, etc., dating from about the third century A.D., and the roughly contemporaneous architecture of Axum shew that the links of connection between the main valley of the Nile and Abyssinia held fast in the generations that followed. Crowfoot notes in particular "the exact resemblance of the plan of the upper storey in the old Dongola church with the plan of Enda Giorgis near Adowa[2]."

XVII Bearing these facts in mind, we may now revert to the descriptions of Meroe left by the classical geographers.

In the time of Herodotus the inhabitants of Meroe itself worshipped Jupiter (*i.e.* Amen-Rā) and Bacchus (*i.e.* Osiris)[3].

The Ethiopian tribes in the vicinity, however, practised circumcision, wore skins, used palm-branch bows, stone-headed arrows, spears tipped with horn and clubs of wood, and painted their bodies before going into battle[4].

As far south from Meroe as Meroe was south of Aswán lay the country in which had settled the "Automoloi" or "Asmach"

[1] *Q.v.* Bk. III, § 7.

[2] *Loc. cit.* p. 40, but Crowfoot is inclined in the case of el Muṣowwarát and Axum to regard the Axumites as the borrowers.

[3] Herodotus, II, 29, 144, 156.

[4] Herodotus, VII, 69 (speaking of Xerxes's army). He does not specifically mention that they lived round Meroe but speaks merely of the "region above Egypt."

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# HISTORY

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and had received a Greek education[1]. Ergamenes declined to acknowledge the authority of the priests and put them to death.

Strabo[2] gives a similar account of Meroe, based largely on Eratosthenes.

To these and the rest of the Greek and Roman geographists the Ethiopians who lived not in Meroe itself but in the surrounding country were no more than wild savages, "wretched Kush," as the Pharaohs would have called them.

XXI Soon after the beginning of the Christian era began the great days of Meroe which are associated with the Queens Candace. The first of these who is a historical personage and not purely mythical[3] appears to have ruled from Napata[4]. She was powerful enough to capture Syene (Aswán) with its Roman garrison of three cohorts in 24 B.C.; but in the following year Petronius defeated her and Napata was destroyed[5].

About 60 A.D. Nero's centurions, sent to explore the Nile, found another Candace reigning at Meroe[6]. They reported, too, that the kings of Ethiopia were forty-five in number, and that the country between Meroe and Aswán was mostly deserted, little trace remaining of all the towns and the thriving civilization mentioned by the earlier geographers. In fact, a period of decadence in Egypt synchronized with a state of comparative desolation in Ethiopia, a further proof of the dependence of the southern state upon its great northern neighbour[7].

XXII Meroe did not, however, cease to be a place of importance. The state of its fortunes still continued to reflect those of Egypt, and

[1] *μεταστχηκὼς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ φιλοσοφήσας.* Mahaffy (p. 140) makes Ergamenes a contemporary of the fourth Ptolemy (222–205).

[2] Born between 64 and 54 B.C. Died after 21 A.D.

[3] See Pseudo-Callisthenes, *ap.* Budge, II, 108, in *re* Alexander the Great.

[4] Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 33, citing Strabo, p. 820.

[5] Petronius chose Primis (Ibrím) to be the Roman boundary, but within a year it was abandoned in favour of Hierosykaminos (Muḥarraka), the old Ptolemaic frontier town. The frontier remained at Hierosykaminos until Diocletian retired the legions to Aswán.

[6] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VI, Ch. 35. Griffith (*Arch. Surv. Nubia*, XIX, 80) surmises that "possibly this dynasty of Candaces is identical with the Natakamani-Amanitêre series of royalties" whose remains are found at Meroe and Náḳa. There are no records in history of any Candace living after the first century A.D. and from the pictorial evidence of the monuments it seems that kings ruled in the second, third and fourth centuries (see Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 39). In the note to para. L of D 7 is given a quotation from Bruce which, if the facts are authentic, shews that in 1619 there was a modern Candace ruling at Mundara in the Isle of Meroe and deriving her income from the great trade-route between east and west as her prototype no doubt did.

[7] Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 36. Pliny says (*loc. cit.*) that warfare with Egypt was responsible for the desolation of Ethiopia, but, as Crowfoot says, there is no warrant in history for this.

in the first part of the fourth century, the period of the Flavian and Antonine Emperors, a revival of trade occurred in both countries. The buildings erected at this period at Bása, el Muṣowwarát and Náḳa (the Graeco-Roman temple), all probably the work of a single dynasty, represent, in Crowfoot's words, "a bye-product of the imperial prosperity, directly due to the overflow of Romano-Egyptian energy and wealth beyond the imperial boundaries[1]."

XXIII Thus we are left with a general impression of the outlying districts of the Island of Meroe as peopled during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era by half-nomadic half-sedentary indigenous savages living by the chase and sparse cultivation of the soil. To the south was the colony founded by the Automoloi or Sembritae, who were probably of Egyptian, but possibly of Libyan origin. To the north lay the comparatively highly civilized town of Meroe shewing both a successive predominance of Egyptian, Greek and Roman influences and also a certain measure of indebtedness to the Ḥimyarites of southern Arabia.

There seems to be little evidence to date that the ruler of Meroe exercised at any period a permanent control inland and southwards further afield than Gebel Ḳayli and Gebel Moya[2].

XXIV Meroe, standing at the meeting of several great trade routes, owed most of its fame and prosperity to the popularity and accessibility of its markets. North and south were the riverways, westwards the road to Napata, eastwards the great caravan route which crosses the Atbara and runs to the Red Sea ports, and southwards the *wádi* routes which tap the cornlands and grazing areas of the Ḥawád and Abu Delayḳ.

Meroe thus formed an excellent site for an emporium where slaves, ivory and gold might be obtained by exchange[3].

[1] Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* pp. 37–39.

[2] There is a rock at Ḳayli with a carving representing an Ethiopian king wearing the uraeus, and a Sun God (see Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 25); and in a cave close by I found in 1912 a drawing which Mr Griffith thinks represents the lion-headed Arsenuphis or Apizemak. Upon the rock with the carving are heaped a number of stones. This may illustrate the Arab practice whereby, it is said, the passer-by signifies his detestation of something abominable (see Jaussen, p. 336), or may be connected with the ancient beliefs exemplified in a similar way in northern Dárfūr (see App. 5 to Part I, Ch. 4).

From the Nastasenen stela (298–278 B.C.) it appears that that monarch may have invaded Kordofán, and "operations at this distance from Meroe would imply that the Gezira or a large part of it was permanently occupied by the Ethiopians." (Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, pp. 65, 66.)

[3] So Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 7. He continues, however, in agreement with Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 163), "but the true basis of their prosperity was agricultural and pastoral," and this, I think, is something of an overstatement. In a year of good rains the *wádis* produce a fair crop of millet, but even if one allow that the rainfall

XXV But about 340–350 A.D., as we learn from one of the Axumite inscriptions[1], an expedition was made by Aeizanes or Aizana, the powerful king of Axum, against the ruler of the NŪBA in the Island of Meroe on account of his aggressions on the frontier:

[2]I took the field against him, and arose in the strength of the Lord of the World, and I smote them at the Takaze[3] beyond Kamalkê. And then when they withdrew themselves to a distance, then followed I [during] three and twenty days, during which I smote him, and took from him prisoners and booty, and took away from where the prisoners dwelt, booty, and during which my people returned who had gone to the war, and during which I burnt their towns of mason work and of straw, and they plundered his crops and his iron and his ore and his copper, and destroyed the pictures (or statues) in his temple, and the provisions of heaped up corn, and threw them into the river Seda[4]....There were of leaders who perished five, and one priest, and I reached to the Kasu and smote them and annihilated them at the confluence of the rivers Seda and Takaze. And the day after I had arrived I sent out a marauding party...and they laid waste up the Seda the towns of masonwork and of straw[5]...and came

was rather heavier 2000 years ago, there would still have been no great surplus. Again, as regards pastoral wealth, the steppes of the Island of Meroe could have supported large herds for most of the year, as they do to-day, but the savagery of the roaming tribes must have made it impossible for flocks from Meroe to be driven for grazing as far afield as they are now, and though "*hafirs*" were dug to preserve the rain-water supply as long as possible the grass supply would have failed if large flocks were concentrated all the year on a limited area. See also Reisner in *Sudan Notes and Records*, Jan. 1919, pp. 50 ff.

[1] I follow Bent, pp. 263 *et seq.* where Dr D. H. Müller's translation and notes are given. The translation followed by Crowfoot (*loc. cit.* pp. 36–38) is that of Littman and Krencker (1906) and differs in several particulars. For instance, Crowfoot says the expedition was against the Nūba "*who had recently conquered* the Island of Meroe. It seems that a wave of Negro aggression had lately surged up from the south and overwhelmed the 'Red' races on the Island and even north of it. The Blacks had captured towns of masonry belonging to the Kasu, occupied them and built towns of grass huts near them, such as the negroes still use; they had harried their neighbours without a cause, and three times they had broken their word and insulted the envoys of the King of Kings, confident that he would never cross the Atbara. The King recounts how in revenge he had sacked both towns of masonry and towns of grass huts, and sent expeditions up and down the Nile from the point of its junction with the Atbara...." Müller's translation gives no warrant for any recent conquest of the Kasu by newly immigrant Nūba.

[2] The following quotation omits several unimportant lines of the original as given by Bent.

[3] *I.e.* the Atbara.

[4] *I.e.* the Nile.

[5] Of the towns of masonwork 'Aloa (*i.e.* Sóba) is mentioned. The first mention of 'Aloa, I believe, is in the stele of Nastasenen, who, according to Reisner's calculation, ruled from 298 to 278 B.C.: "Amen of Napata...came forth from the Great House, and he made me to be King over Ta-Kenset and Alut and the Nine Tribes who fight with bows and the country on both sides of the river and the Four Quarters of the World" (Budge, II, 98). See Para. XXVIII.

Crowfoot thinks that by 'Aloa in the inscription of Aeizanes is possibly meant Meroe (see following note); but whenever 'Aloa is mentioned in any context that defines the locality the region round Sóba is always clearly intended. The name

in good condition back...and thereupon I sent the troop Halen and the troop Dakân and the troop Sabarât, and they plundered and laid waste down the Seda the Nuba towns of straw (houses) four, Nagûsô 1. Towns of masonry of the Kasu and Noba, Naszato 1. D. v-r tâli 1, and reached as far as the district of the red Nôbâ, and in good condition returned my people back....And I set up my throne within the confluence of the river Seda and Takaze, in sight of the town of masonry[1]...the island, which the Lord of heaven has given me...and I set up my throne here at the Seda through the strength of the Lord of heaven....

XXVI Herewe have three distinct races mentioned: firstly, the NŪBA in the Island of Meroe, as far east as the Atbara, secondly, the KASU to the north-west near the junction of the Nile and the Atbara, and, thirdly, the "Red Nūba" some distance further downstream.

Immediately downstream of the junction of the rivers the KASU and the NŪBA would seem to have been dwelling side by side. It is hard to avoid hazarding an opinion that the "Red NŪBA" may have been southernly colonies of Blemyes. As regards the difference between the "KASU" and the "NŪBA" of the inscription much obviously depends on whether the interpretation of Müller or of Littman and Krencker is correct; but in either case the "KASU" would appear to be the more civilized and Egyptianized Meroitic type and the "NŪBA" the negro tribes of the out-districts. The matter must simply remain doubtful.

It is at least clear that by the middle of the fourth century A.D. Meroe had fallen on evil days and a process of disintegration had set in. From now onwards we know nothing to speak of about the history of the people living south of the confluence of the Nile and the Atbara until the time of el Mas'ūdi and Ibn Selim el Aswáni who wrote their descriptions of Nūbia in the tenth century.

XXVII At what date the Meroitic peoples became Christian we do not know. Abyssinia was converted about 330 A.D. and northern Nūbia about two centuries later; but the severance of friendly relations between the two countries which occurred in the middle of the fourth century militated henceforth against the spread of the religious beliefs of the one to the other, and so much so that when Christianity

of 'Aloa, be it noted, is also applied, both in the Axumite inscription and later by Abu Ṣáliḥ, to the town (Sóba) as well as to the district. The name seems to survive in the dual form of "'Alwán," the name of a district inland from Sóba.

[1] From "Takaze" to "heaven has" forms line 40 of the inscription.

Crowfoot remarks that it is curious that there is no mention of Meroe itself in the inscription, although we know that it was still the largest town in the district. But in line 40 there is a gap after the words "the town of masonry" which might surely have contained the name if the words translated "within the confluence of" can be applied to a site which is in the angle of the two rivers though fifty miles away from the actual junction.

was finally established in Nūbia in the sixth century it was by way of Egypt that it came.

XXVIII In all probability it was about the end of the same century, or early in the seventh, that the faith was received by 'Aloa.

The town of Sóba, or 'Aloa, had been a place of importance even in Meroitic days, for a temple there dates from that period[1]; and though "Alut" on the stele of Nastasenen refers no doubt to the district, it is natural to suppose that its capital was the town subsequently famous by the same name.

When 'Aloa was converted pagan temples were turned into or replaced by churches. With Christianity and the importation of liturgies and holy books came also a more general use of Greek writing for purposes of religion and ceremonial[2], and a line of communication was opened for the future between Alexandria and the villages of the Blue Nile[3]. At the present day there are still visible some traces of an ancient civilization even beyond Sóba, such as the old red-brick buildings, probably remains of churches, near Elti, Kutrang, Kasemba, Bronko and Ḥaṣṣa Ḥayṣa[4]. Their date is not known, but they appear to belong to the same period as the Christian remains found at Sóba.

XXIX Further north, as the power of Meroe declined the allegiance of the petty *meks* who had once owned its overlordship began to be drawn to the one side by the magnet of Abyssinia or to the other by that of the rival Nūbian kingdom which centred upon Dongola. Whenever we catch a glimpse of these two powers, as, for instance,

[1] Budge, II, 304. The name "Sóba" suggests "Astasobas," the name by which Strabo denotes the Blue Nile.

[2] The same probably does not apply to Abyssinia, where the use of Greek writing was chiefly due to trade influences (see Letronne, *loc. cit.*).

[3] 'Aloa, or Sóba, is mentioned ("'Aloa") in the treaty of 652 A.D. between the Arabs and the Nūbians (see Part II, Chap. 2, v), and by the tenth century it was the most important town in the Sudan south of Dongola (see Ibn Selim's account in Part II, Chap. 2). It remained so for some two or three hundred years and, though with the fall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola and the invasion of the Arabs its importance no doubt diminished, it apparently revived somewhat at a still later date, for at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was the capital of the 'Anag or Nūba whom the Fung dispossessed (see D 7, 1, in Part IV).

[4] Cp. Crowfoot, *loc. cit.* p. 8; and see note to MS. D 7, 1. Alvarez mentions these churches. It is stated locally that the ancient name of Elti was Anti. Anti and Rūdis are said to have been sister and brother, 'Anag by race, who settled one (Rūdis) on the east bank on the present site of Basháḳira East (or Rodos, Cailliand's *Rodess*, II, 210), and the other (Anti) on the west bank.

Ibn Selím and el Mas'ūdi, it is true, speak of the tribes south of Sóba in much the same terms as do the classical geographers, and call them worshippers of the moon, stars, fire, trees and animals, "blacks naked like the Zing," but they clearly refer to the tribes living inland, away from the river, or else to those who dwelt considerably farther upstream.

in the seventh and eighth centuries[1], they appear to be bickering and the lesser princelets who were wedged between the two, probably succeeded in maintaining some measure of local independence, whatever nominal allegiance they may have professed.

XXX It is indeed difficult without further scientific data to get any but a vague impression as to the race to which the various occupants of the country round Meroe belonged in the period immediately preceding its conquest by the Arabs. Four distinct races at least met thereabouts. Inland to the north and east were the BEGA: to the north-west were the NŪBA tribes; to the south-east was Abyssinia: to the south along the White Nile and the Sobat were the people of whom the modern representatives are the SHILLUK.

XXXI As regards these latter, as has been mentioned[2], they display Bantu affinities, and probably they moved into the country south of the Sobat and the upper reaches of the White Nile during or rather later than the second millennium B.C. They did not extend their occupation to the lower White Nile, to the vicinity of Káwa and Dueim, until the beginning of the sixteenth century A.D., the period, that is, of the rise of the FUNG kingdom[3].

Bruce was told in Sennár in the eighteenth century that these FUNG were descended from the SHILLUK, and Westermann has lately adduced proofs of the correctness of the tradition. To what extent, if any, the Nilotic negroes modified the racial composition of the

[1] In 687 the Patriarch of Alexandria sent a message exhorting the kings of Nūbia and Ethiopia (Abyssinia that is) to concord (Renandot, *Hist. Patr. Alex.* 178, *ap.* Letronne).

In 737 A.D. the Patriarch writes to Cyriacus "King of Nūbia" to cease raiding Upper Egypt, and the biographer speaks of the king's power as extending over thirteen other kings (*ap.* Le Quien in *Orient. Christian.*, II, 662, for which see Letronne). But as a matter of fact there is a continual confusion in the ideas of the early Christian writers between Nūbia and Abyssinia, and even in some cases between Abyssinia and India, and "Nūbia" should probably read "Abyssinia" in this passage. The subject of this confusion will be further dealt with later, but one may quote a note by A. J. Butler to a remark by Abu Ṣáliḥ (p. 285): "Our author here seems to look upon South-west Arabia as identical with or forming part of Abyssinia or Ethiopia, an error akin to the confusion of Abyssinia with India which appears lower down."

In the thirteenth century we shall see that the Sultan of Egypt in addition to sending an embassy to the king of Dongola had to approach ten separate *meks* to the south (see Part II, Chap. 2).

[2] P. 16.

[3] Westermann, LII ff. In 1842 they inhabited the islands as far north as the fourteenth degree of latitude (Dehérain, Fig. VII, opp. p. 262). Cp. Schweinfurth, I, 9–10: "On the 13th of January, on one of the thronging islands, we had our first *rencontre* with the Shillooks. This tribe of negroes formerly extended themselves much further north than at present, having settlements on all the islands; but now [1869] they only exceptionally penetrate to this latitude (12° 30′) in their canoes....In a few days we lay-to alongside the village of Kaka, the most northernly place inhabited by Shillooks on the White Nile."

inhabitants of the Island of Meroe is unknown, but some indication of connection is perhaps furnished by the existence in Meroe until the third century B.C. of the custom of killing the king when he was considered to be no longer sufficiently vigorous to rule. This constitutes presumably one more example of the ancient belief in kings "believed to incarnate the divine spirit...who were periodically killed lest that spirit should suffer from its retention in an ageing body[1]." If so, it is probably to be connected on the one hand with the "*sed*" festival of ancient Egypt, which is thought to have originally celebrated the Osirification of the king through death, and certainly, on the other hand, with the still-existing custom according to which the Nilotic SHILLUK and DINKA put their kings to death before their bodily vigour passes away[2].

Traces of the same custom existed among the FUNG of Sennár, at whose court there was a personage who combined the functions of Master of the Household and Executioner of the Kings; and, it seems, among the 'ABDULLÁB of Ḳerri[3]. Of the former Bruce says[4]:

> It is one of the singularities which obtains among this brutish people that the king ascends his throne under an admission that he may be lawfully put to death by his own subjects or slaves upon a council being held by the great officers, if they decree that it is not for the advantage of the state that he be suffered to reign any longer. There is one officer of his own family who alone can be the instrument of shedding his sovereign and kinsman's blood. This officer is called Sid el Coom, master of the king's household or servants, but has no vote in deposing him; nor is any guilt imputed to him however many of his sovereigns he thus regularly murders.

XXXII But until the beginning of the sixteenth century the Nilotic negroes do not appear either racially or culturally to have exercised any influence in the Island of Meroe comparable to that of the other three groups mentioned. Of these the most important was probably the NŪBA. The ancient inhabitants of Sóba, the Island of Meroe and the hills of northern Kordofán are still commonly spoken of as

[1] Seligman, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 664. The *locus classicus* of the subject is Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part III. Cp. also *Man*, Feb. 1915, "Killing the Divine King," by Géza Róheim, for some Ural-Altaic instances of the custom.

[2] Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 665, 666; and see, in particular, Miss Murray's "Evidence for the Custom of Killing the King in Ancient Egypt," in *Man*, Feb. 1914. For the custom in Fazoghli see Lepsius, *Discoveries...*, p. 221.

[3] See "D 5 (*a*)" in Part IV.

[4] Bruce, Bk. VII, Ch. IX. For another ancient Egyptian custom which survived among the Fung, that of the king personally hoeing a piece of land, see Part I, Chap. 4, XXVI. The connection between the two lies in the typically Hamitic conception of the king as a rainmaker and the medium whereby the yearly renascence of vegetation is ensured. Cp. Seligman, *loc. cit.* pp. 681, 683.

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# CHAPTER 4

## *The non-Arab Races of Dárfūr*

I The consideration of the races who inhabited Dárfūr[1] before the Arabs is, on the one hand, rendered more difficult by the lack of modern scientific research, and, on the other, made more easy by the fact that the Arabs have coalesced so slightly with the older population that it is still easy to pick out the non-Arab elements. Several intrepid and accomplished travellers have visited the country and brought back valuable information, but anthropology had not in their days made such giant strides as now, and their statements are not always backed by scientific data of the type available for Egypt and Lower Nūbia. It is the researches of Barth and Nachtigal and the acute observations of el Tūnisi that have cast most light on the pre-Arab element in Dárfūr.

II BEDAYÁT. The northern portion of Dárfūr is contained in that vast unfertile northernly portion of Africa which is set aside by nature for those who lead a pastoral life. Scattered in insignificant numbers as far south as Kebkebía and Kuttum, but chiefly roaming further north in the Ennedi district outside Dárfūr are the BEDAYÁT, a wild and entirely nomadic race related to the ZAGHÁWA. Their geographical position between the ḲURA'ÁN (to the north) and the ZAGHÁWA (to the south) roughly represents also their ethnographical status. Barth[2] calls them "Terauye" and says the Arabs call them "A'uwa." The Arabs of Kordofán and Dárfūr speak always of "Bedayát," and "A'uwa" seems to be the ḲURA'ÁN name for them and "Terauye" or "Teráwa" a name applied to them by the Arabs of Borḳu[3]. Lieut. Ferrandi divides the BEDAYÁT into (*a*) a northern group, and (*b*) a southern group called BILLIA, and says they claim to have once been Christians[4]. In Barth's time most of them were pagans, but they now profess Muhammadanism[5]. Parties of these BEDAYÁT periodically swoop down over the deserts that intervene

[1] "Dárfūr" means "The Country of the Fūr."

[2] Vol. III, App. I, p. 496.

[3] See "Renseignements Coloniaux," p. 308, in *L'Afrique Française* (Suppl.), Dec. 1914.

[4] *Ibid.* On this point see App. 5 to this chapter.

[5] El Tūnisi (*Voy. au Ouadây*, p. 17) speaks of the Bedayát as not of Arab origin though their manners and way of life, but not their language, are those of the Arabs. He classes them (p. 25) as nomadic negroes or "pseudo-beduins."

between them and the Arabs and raid camels, women and children from the latter, and they even venture as far as the riverain districts of Dongola. Their hand is against every man's, but so remarkable is their power of endurance and their sense of direction that it is very difficult to overtake them.

Slatin had dealings with them when he was an official of the Turkish Government in Dárfūr before the Mahdía. After mentioning that they are pagans in all but name, he adds[1]:

> Under the widespreading branches of an enormous *heglik*[2] tree, and on a spot kept beautifully clean and sprinkled with fine sand, the Bedayat beseech an unknown god to direct them in their undertakings, and to protect them from danger. They have also religious feasts at uncertain dates, when they ascend the hills, and on the extreme summits, which are whitewashed, they offer sacrifices of animals. They are a fine, stalwart race, very dark in colour, with straight features, a thin nose and small mouth, and resemble Arabs more than Negroes. The women are famed for their long flowing hair, and there are some great beauties amongst them, as one often finds amongst the free Arab tribes. They generally wear skins of animals round their waists and loins; but the higher class and their women dress in long flowing robes made of white Darfur cotton cloth. Their food is very plain. Corn does not grow in their country, and is almost unknown to them. They take the seeds of the wild pumpkin, which grows there in abundance, and they soak them in wooden vessels made from the bark of trees. After taking the outer shells off, they leave the seeds to steep until they lose their bitterness, and then, straining them off and mixing them with dates, they grind them into a sort of flour, which is cooked with meat, and forms the principal food of the country.
>
> They have also most strange customs as regards inheritance and succession. The cemeteries are generally situated at some distance from the villages; and when a father dies, the body is taken by all the relatives to be buried. The ceremony over, on a given signal they all rush together at the top of their speed to the deceased's house; and he who arrives first and fixes his spear or arrow in it is considered the rightful heir, and not only becomes possessor of all the cattle, but also of his father's wives and other women, with the exception of his own mother. He is at perfect liberty to marry them if he wishes, or he can set them free. A man's female household is entirely regulated by his financial position. It is great or small according as the lord and master is rich or poor.
>
> As I before remarked, most of the people still adhered to their pagan customs, and it amused me greatly when Saleh Donkusa, who was by way of being a good Moslem himself, denied to me, in the most emphatic manner, that such customs were still in vogue in his tribe. I asked him what the great heglik-tree was which I had passed the previous day when

[1] Bk. 1, Ch. 3.

[2] *Balanites Aegyptiaca*. For the cult connected with trees and stones in Dárfūr see later *sub* Dágū and Fūr.

riding through the Khor, and why the ground underneath was sprinkled with fine sand. The question surprised him, and for a moment he was silent; he then answered that it was the usual meeting place in which tribal matters were discussed. "The Maheria Arabs," said I, "wanted to graze their cattle near the tree; but when I saw that it was dedicated for some special purpose, I prevented them from doing so." He thanked me most heartily, and I could see that, though a fanatical Moslem himself, he was determined to uphold the ancient manners and customs of his tribe, and so retain his hold over them. I subsequently learned that it was entirely through him that the holy tree was preserved.

Among the subdivisions of the BEDAYÁT in Dárfūr are the BIRAYRA, the GALLIGERKI, the KÓTIERRA, the SÁR and the URDÍA.

III ḲURA'ÁN. The ḲURA'ÁN for the most part live to the north of the BEDAYÁT and also outside Dárfūr, but a few of them are scattered among the latter tribe and the ZAGHÁWA. Their possible identity with the ancient Garamantes and their other racial affinities have been discussed in an earlier chapter. I may add here that such of them as I have met in Dárfūr identify themselves with the DAZA (they say the terms are synonymous) as a branch of the TEDA (or ANKAZZA). They admit only a distant relationship with the BEDAYÁT and an even more remote one with the ZAGHÁWA and do not understand the common language of those tribes. The TIBBU to the north of them, they say, speak a language similar to their own, but not identical with it[1]. They disclaim all connection with the TUWÁREK ("KENÍN"). The only branches of ḲURA'ÁN I have heard mentioned are the following:

| | |
|---|---|
| BULTA | DÓNZA |
| GAIDA | KILLIA |
| BIRRASA | DUDIRNIA |
| KOKURDA | NOARMA |
| MURDINGA, or MURDÍA | JIGADA (in the west) |

IV ZAGHÁWA. Mixed with the BEDAYÁT, but mainly to the south of them, in northern Dárfūr, are the ZAGHÁWA[2]. This large tribe is mainly a mixture of Hamitic TIBBU and negro[3], and has Libyo-Berber affinities. They were known to the mediaeval Arab geographers, but the bulk of them in the middle ages appear to have been consider-

[1] Curiously enough, when I was asking some Bedayát, Ḳura'án and Zagháwa with what tribe in particular they connected the Tibbu they replied that the Tibbu were reputed to have been in old days relatives of the Hadendoa of the Eastern Sudan. The strain common to both is of course the Hamitic.

[2] See MacMichael in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLII, 1912, and *Tribes...*, Ch. VIII.

[3] Keane, *Encycl. Brit.* art. "Sudan," and cp. Cust, I, 253, and Carbou, II, 209. Nachtigal, on the other hand, denied, on grounds that seem insufficient, that they were a Tibbu race. See *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 73.

ably further west than at present, on the same latitude. Their native language is a dialect of TIBBU[1], but most can also speak Arabic of a kind.

They are first mentioned by that "Herodotus of the Arabs," el Mas'ūdi, about 943 A.D.[2] He speaks of the descendants of "Kush the son of Kana'án," whom he refers to in general terms as "Ḥabsha" and "Aḥábísh" (*i.e.* literally, Abyssinians), as moving westwards after the flood and then dividing into two main branches. The NŪBA, the BEGA and the ZING became separate, he says, from the others, who continued westwards "towards el Zaghάwa and el Kánem and Marka and Kaukau and Ghána and the [*s.c.* countries of the] other kinds of blacks and Demádem." Later he speaks of these western migrants themselves as containing "Zaghάwa and Kaukau and Ḳarákir and Madída and el Melána and el Ḳumáṭi and Duwayla and cl Ḳarma[3]." What he obviously means is that certain Ethiopian races at a very early period pushed westwards to those countries bordering on the Niger west of Lake Chad which were subsequently known as Zaghái, Ghána, etc.[4]

El Idrísi, who wrote his *Geography* about 1153 after extensive travels in West Africa, in dealing with the desert of Tiser and the ZAGHÁWA and FEZZÁN describes the precarious semi-nomadic existence of the people, and says[5]:

Les deux résidences les plus considérables du Zaghawa sont celles de Sakouat (سقوة) et de Chameh (شامة). On y trouve une tribu voyageuse appellée Sadraïet (صدراية), qui passe pour être Berbère. Les individus qui la composent ressemblent aux Zaghawiens; ils ont les mêmes habitudes, ils se sont identifiés à leurs races et ils ont recours à eux pour tous les objets qui leur sont nécessaires, et pour leur négoce. Chameh est un gros bourg, aujourd'hui mal peuplé, dont les habitants se sont transportés pour la plupart à Koukou (كوكو), ville située à 16 journées de distance. Ils boivent beaucoup de lait, leurs eaux étant saumâtres, et mangent de la viande coupée en lanières et séchée au soleil. Ils se nourrissent aussi de reptiles, dont ils font une chasse abondante et qu'ils font cuire après leur avoir coupé la tête et la queue. Ces peuples sont très sujets à la gale, en sorte qu'à ce signe, dans tout le pays et dans toutes les tribus du Soudan, on reconnaît un Zaghawien. S'ils s'abstenaient de manger du serpent, ils en seraient totalement exempts. Ils vont nus et cachent seulement leurs

[1] Cp. MacMichael's vocabularies in *Journ. Anthr.* with those of Carbou, 1, 213 *et seq.*

[2] Vol. III, Ch. 33, pp. 1, 2, 37, 38.

[3] The names vary in different MSS. Kaukau (Leo's "Gago") is Kágho (or Gao or Gogo) on the Niger. See Cooley, p. 32.

[4] Cooley learnedly discusses the exact geographical situation of these western kingdoms and may be consulted for details.

[5] P. 111 in Vol. V of the *Recueil de Voyages....*

parties honteuses au moyen de cuirs tannés de chameau et de chèvre, qui sont couverts de diverses sortes d'incisions et d'ornements.

Il y a dans ce pays une montagne nommée Loukia (لوقية)[1], très haute et d'un difficile accès, bien qu'elle soit formée d'une terre blanche et molle. Nul ne peut, sans périr, approcher des cavernes qui se trouvent sur son sommet, attendu, d'après ce qu'on assure, qu'on y trouve des serpents d'une grosseur énorme qui s'élancent sur quiconque se dirige sans le savoir vers leurs retraites, ce qui fait que les habitants du pays les redoutent et les évitent....Les habitants de ce canton sont Zaghawiens et leur tribu se nomme Sakouat; ils sont très sédentaires, possèdent de nombreux troupeaux de chameau de race estimée, fabriquent leurs vêtements et les tentes où ils demeurent avec le poil de ces animaux, et se nourrissent de leur lait, de leur beurre et de leur chair. Chez eux les légumes sont rare; cependant ils cultivent le dhorra, qui (comme on sait) est la principale production du Zaghawa: on y apporte quelquefois du blé de Wardjelan et d'ailleurs.

Late in the fourteenth century, it is said, the ZAGHÁWA came under the domination of the BULÁLA[2].

Ibn Khaldun (1332–1406) speaks of the TAWÁREK as a section of ṢANHÁGA Berbers who include the kindred tribes of LAMTŪNA, ZAGHÁWA and LAMTA and have frequented the tracts separating the country of the Berbers from that of the blacks since a time long previous to Islam[3]. But he also quotes Ibn Sa'id (1214–1287) to the effect that there were Zagháwa living next to the Nūbians, *i.e.* further east, and that they were Muhammadans and included a section called "Tágūa[4]."

Maḳrízi (fl. 1400), or Ibn Sa'íd from whom he copies, tells us that "all the nations between Abyssinia on the south, Nūbia on the east, Barḳa on the north, and Takrūr on the west are called 'Zaghái[5].'"

Leo Africanus (fl. 1528) evidently refers to the ZAGHÁWA and the cognate ḲURA'ÁN when he speaks of the journey between Cairo and Bornu as dangerous owing to the depredations of "certaine theeves called Zingani," and when, in the passage previously quoted, he says "the king of Nubia maintaineth continuall warre partly against the people of Goran (who being descended of the people called Zingani, inhabite the deserts and speake a kinde of language that

[1] Or "Lounia" (لونية).

[2] Barth, III, Ch. LI, p. 428, quoting Maḳrízi and Abu el Fidá; but it is probable that the allusion is merely to the Zagháwa of Kánem.

[3] Ed. de Slane, Bk. II, 64.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 105, and ed. ar., VI, 199; Bk. III. A variant for "Tágūa" (تاجوة) reads "Tágra" (تاجرة).

[5] Cooley, p. 98.

no other nation vnderstandeth) and partly against certaine other people[1]."

The ZAGHÁWA are still much where they were in Leo's time, but the nomad Arabs have interposed to a larger degree between them and Nūbia, and the only colony of them now between Dárfūr and the Nile is at Kagmár in Kordofán. This settlement was probably made early in the eighteenth century[2] and includes the "ZAGHÁWA hills" of el Roy'ián and el 'Aṭshán: it is now in gradual process of arabicization; and the same applies in a less degree to the semi-nomadic ZAGHÁWA of Dárfūr, who, though they do not call themselves Arabs and have not yet faked Arab pedigrees, speak Arabic and with Muhammadanism have adopted many Arab customs. They still, however, retain their belief in rainmakers (*hógi*[3]). They are a lithe, stalwart and active folk, of the same cast of countenance as the TIBBŪ, very black-skinned[4], and much addicted to raiding and blood feuds.

The FŪR call them "MÉRIDA," the Mídóbis "KÉBÁDI," the TÁMA (and ERENGA) "Kuyuk," and they call themselves "Berri"; but in the dialects of the DÁGU and others they appear as "ZAGÁWA." The BIRḲED use the form "Zaugé."

El Tūnisi gives[5] a number of details concerning the ZAGHÁWA at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their country, a very spacious area in north-western Dárfūr was ruled by a tributary sultan who had twelve *meliks* subject to him. It was often known as "Dár Tékényâouy,"[6] a term also used however to include the BERTI country immediately east of it. The ZAGHÁWA and BERTI, though living as neighbours, "par un trait frappant de la sagesse divine," were very different in character, the advantage both in morals and appearance lying with the latter. The ZAGHÁWA were at feud with the MAḤÁMÍD Arabs.

[1] Cp. Chap. 2, XLI, of this Part. The reference to Leo is Bk. VII, 826 and 828. Temporal translated "Zingané" as "Gypsies" and Dr Brown (Leo, p. 828) thinks this correct. On p. 826 (*loc. cit.*) he says the Zingani cannot be classed with any known people. Sir C. Wilson (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* Aug. 1887) thought the Zingani might be Kabábísh Arabs "not yet arabicized." The Gypsies in Syria and Asia Minor are still called "tchingene" (von Luschan, *loc. cit.* p. 227).

[2] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 109.

[3] "Hógon" is also the word used on the Hombori plateau (Upper Niger) for a rainmaker or sorcerer (see MacMichael, *loc. cit.* 114). For their belief in certain holy stones and trees see Para. VIII of this chapter.

[4] Cp. Carbou, II, 209. [5] *Voyage au Darfour*, pp. 128, 132, 133, 136–139, 297.

[6] The term is said by el Tūnisi to mean "the left arm or wing [of the Sultan]"; but the Fūr of the present tell me it denotes the loins ("ṣulub"). "Tékényâouy" was the title of its ruler, a functionary quite distinct from the local Sultan and apparently a kind of viceroy of the Sultan of Dárfūr (see *loc. cit.* pp. 132, 133, 138). The title still survives, though its holder has neither authority nor duties.

At present the ZAGHÁWA are divided into several large sections, of which the chief are the following[1]:

ARTEYT.

MIRRA.

AḲABA.

KAITINGA[2]. This large community, living close to the north of Kuttum, regards itself, and is regarded by others, as TUNGUR by descent on the male side and ZAGHÁWA on the female side. They are inclined to demur to the appellation of ZAGHÁWA, though not flatly disowning it, and to speak of themselves as a separate tribe. They never call themselves TUNGUR.

KOBBÉ. (Including the KUBGA.) This section is in the extreme north-west of Dárfūr and north-east of Wadái. There is a colony of KUBGA, with other KOBBÉ (NÁS FIRTI), near Kebkebía, but their habitat proper is in a mountainous district north-west of Dár Táma.

The KOBBÉ are subdivided into ANGO, MIRRA, NOWRA, WAYRA, BAYBELA, KERAYKO, BIRRIARRA, BURSU, SIGERLA and GODÉ; the KUBGA into BIGI, ERLA, HOTILLIA, DERBULA and BIRGABELA[3].

KALIBA.

NIKIRI.

GALIGALGERA, or GÀNIGALGERA (under the KALIBA).

AWLÁD DIḲAYN and AWLÁD DOURA. Under AḲABA. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century, however, the AḲABA were under the Awlád DIḲAYN *naḥás*.

Each main division of the ZAGHÁWA now has its own *melik*, subject to no single Zaghàwi Sultan or overlord. Their habitat stretches across practically the whole of northernmost Dárfūr and part of northern Wadái[4], and in its more southernly districts (in Dárfūr) is largely peopled by FŪR and TUNGUR.

v **MÍDÓB.** Gebel Mídób lies about 400 miles west of Khartoum or 350 miles west-south-west of Debba, in the north-eastern corner of Dárfūr, and mention has already been made of its people as having a Nūbian strain and speaking a dialect that resembles that of the BARÁBRA[5].

[1] The Zaghàwa generally add the Bedayát to the list of their subtribes.

[2] The Kaitinga brand is as shown. The "crow's-foot" at the base is common to most Fūr and Tungur brands and appears to be borrowed from the royal Kayra section of Fūr (*q.v.* in Para. xx, and cp. Paras. VII and XIX).

[3] The details of subdivisions of Kobbé and Kubga were supplied to me by Mr E. G. Sarsfield Hall of the Sudan Civil Service, Inspector of Northern Dárfūr.

[4] See Carbou, II, 209, 210.

[5] Part I, Chap. 2, XXXIII and XLII. The account of Mídób which follows is partly identical with an article I contributed, under the title "Nubian Influences in Darfur," to the first number of *Sudan Notes and Records* (1918), but certain additions have been made. For a comparative vocabulary of Mídób, Birḳed and Barábra, see later *sub* Birḳed.

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of inheritance and succession is still followed, and on the death of a *mek* he is succeeded by his sister's son. There are two *meks* in Mídób, one of the northern portion of the range (URTI section), the other of the southern (SHELKÓTA section), and in both cases the practice is the same.

In the matter of inheritance it is usual, in order to conform to Islamic practice while preserving the ancient custom, for a man before his death to give his wealth to his sons, and the sister's son therefore finds nothing left to inherit. The well-to-do carry a sword, the rest a few throwing spears or a knobbed stick. The throwing stick, universal in the rest of Dárfūr, is not used at Midób.

Circumcision of both sexes is practised. Marriage with the daughter of the paternal uncle, usual among the nomadic Arabs, is taboo at Midób, but the same does not apply to marriage with the daughter of the maternal uncle.

A very interesting annual festival is held by the Mídóbis of the north and south alike. It begins, it is said, on the eighth day of a lunar month, when the corn is ripe and the first few heads are being cut, but before the general reaping. On this occasion the young men and the girls go (in the case of the southern Mídóbis) to Khór Odingár and camp there for fifteen days, enjoying themselves with dancing and horse-play. The elder folk merely act the part of spectators and bring out the food and drink for the others.

A month later, on the eighth of the following month, that is, the young men go (in the case of the southern Mídóbis) to Khór Tát and take part in manly sports, running and riding, etc. The women and girls look on. In the evening each young man has to jump over the Khor; and then all go home.

So much—the date in the month excepted—I was told at Midób, and it was added in passing that the young men had their heads anointed for the festival. But in 1918 I was travelling with some Mídóbis and noticed that one of them, a youth aged 19 or so, wore his hair long and thickly plaited and parted down the middle—somewhat after the fashion of the BEDAYRÍA youths—with the plaits tied together for temporary convenience at the back of his head. This led to enquiries and the following additional facts transpired. The whole festival described above is known as the *bazza*, and if the year is a bad one from the point of view of the harvest (*bukkali*, *Arabic*[1]; *urung·ul*, Midób) it is not held.

The plaited hair (*dirwa*, or *tirwi*, *Arabic*[1]; *rilʃan*, Midób)

[1] The Mídóbis speak of this as an Arabic word, but, if so, it seems to be a corruption of some sort.

is an important feature in the proceedings. In anticipation of the festival the lads of Midób allow their hair to grow long, and about spring-time they begin to pay special attention to anointing and plaiting it. Thus, when the time comes for the celebration of the second half of the festival, if the fathers, judging the harvest sufficiently good to warrant it, give sanction and anoint their own heads (which are, of course, close shorn), the lads dress themselves up with women's ornaments, bracelets, beads, etc., and take a drum (*nugára*) and form a procession and go round visiting all the neighbouring villages, beating their drum and inviting contributions.

In a good year there will be some fifty to a hundred youths thus celebrating the *bazza*, in a poor year perhaps only a dozen or so; and evidently it is a matter for distinct pride in after-life to have been one of the lads of a good year: of my informants one boasted that he had been one of sixty-three and another one of fifty-five. If the numbers are sufficiently large two independent processions are formed instead of one.

Before setting out on their series of visits (which may extend over a week or a fortnight or so, according to the number of villages to be visited and the length of the gaps between visits) the lads select from among the elders of their tribe, for the maturity of their judgment, two old men ("*baraga sirigi*," *i.e.* "rulers of the young men[1]") as advisers: it was explained that two were chosen, and not one only, because in human affairs "two heads are better than one." It is a matter of formality that these two elders at first refuse, and only allow themselves to be over-persuaded when the lads engage solemnly to them to behave themselves and lead a decent orderly life, avoiding quarrels and irregularities and insubordination. This done, the two elders consent to act, and instruct the lads in the proper ritual. The same elders may never serve more than twice.

In addition, the lads select from among their own number two leaders[2] for each procession, or for the single procession, as the case may be; but for this privilege only those are eligible whose fathers and mothers are still alive and hale. During the course of the processional visits all the lads submit to the orders of the leaders thus chosen.

Then the procession sets out and visits the villages, beating the drum and collecting whatever is offered of corn, money, sheep, strips of cotton material, etc. Small girls, not yet come to puberty, may

[1] The word "sirigi" is also that used for a village sheikh at Mídób.

[2] Also apparently called "baraga sirigi," as are the two elders. It appears to be immaterial which of all the youths beats the drum.

follow in the train of the procession, but it is not customary for anyone else to do so.

At the end of the festival the offerings are all handed over to the two elders, who divide up one-third of the total among the lads and keep two-thirds for themselves. The leaders of the procession get no more in this distribution than their companions.

Then the lads disperse to their homes and the father of each (or in default the father's brother) cuts off his son's locks and gives them to the mother, and she hangs them up in the home and there they remain suspended indefinitely.

This cutting of the hair is the final consummation of the whole affair, and every male Midóbi goes through the process on the threshold of his manhood, and once for all. There is no particular age specified, and the rite has apparently no connection with puberty, marriage, etc. One simply waits for a reasonably good harvest year. It is only forbidden for sons of the same mother to go through the ceremony in a single year, though sons of the same father by different mothers may do so. Until his hair has been shorn it is improper for a boy to leave the mountain, and, in the case of the one with unshorn locks whom I encountered, nothing but the force of particular circumstances would have induced him to do it, and he was obviously ashamed of himself[1].

[1] So far as I could ascertain no other neighbouring Dárfūr tribe has any strictly analogous rite. The somewhat similar practice among the Ḳimr (see Para. XXI) is associated with circumcision and has nothing to do with the harvest.

The obvious interest in the Mídóbi festival is the resemblance it bears to May-Day festivals, whether that associated with the holy bull of Magnesia (Asia Minor) in pre-Christian days, or that still held in Thuringia, or in the country districts of England "where," as Miss Harrison says, "the Queen of the May and the Jack-in-the-Green still go from house to house. Nowadays it is to collect pence; once it was to diffuse 'grace' and increase" (*Ancient Art and Ritual*, p. 175).

Take the case of the Thuringian festival first: "As soon as the trees begin to be green in spring, the children assemble on a Sunday and go out into the woods, where they choose one of their playmates to be Little Leaf Man. They break branches from the trees and twine them about the child, till only his shoes are left peeping out. Two of the other children lead him for fear he should stumble. They take him singing and dancing from house to house, asking for gifts of food, such as eggs, cream, sausages, cakes..." (*Art and Ritual*, p. 60).

Even more striking is the parallel from ancient Asia Minor: "It was not only at Elis that a holy Bull appears at the Spring Festival. Plutarch asks another instructive *Question*: 'Who among the Delphians is the Sanctifier?' And we find to our amazement that the Sanctifier is a Bull. A Bull who not only is holy himself, but is so holy that he has power to make others holy, he is the Sanctifier; and, most important for us, he sanctifies by his death in the month Bysios, the month that fell...'at the beginning of spring, the time of the blossoming of many plants.'

"We do not hear that the 'Sanctifier' at Delphi was 'driven,' but in all probability he was led from house to house, that every one might partake in the sanctity

Just before the rains the southern Mídóbis hold a quite different ceremony at the holy rock of Udru, a broken unshaped block of granite some $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high lying at the foot of Gebel Udru (called by the Arabs "Mográn"), a large and conspicuous detached hill on the south side of Midób. The holy rock is called Telli (northern dialect) or Delli (southern dialect) and the same word in the Midóbi language means God. Over it is built a rough hut of boughs, which is repaired yearly before the ceremony, but left in bad repair for the greater part of the year. The rock, when I saw it in July 1917, was still covered with milk stains. Another smaller boulder near by had similar stains upon it and some stones and cow-dung on the top of it. This second boulder was referred to as the son or younger brother of the larger one, and the reason of its having also been honoured was said to be that the hut built over the big boulder had so consistently fallen to pieces that the people thought the rock was perhaps annoyed at the neglect shown to the smaller boulder, so of late years they had taken to making offerings to both. The stones and cow-dung had been placed upon the smaller boulder by the children in play.

The ceremony at Udru is performed by certain old women of the Ordarti section, who inherit the privilege from mother to daughter. The offerings of milk, fat, flour, meat, etc., are handed by the votaries to these old women and by them placed on the rock. The rest of the people stand some way off and pass the time jumping and dancing and singing.

There is said to be another holy stone at which similar rain-

that simply exuded from him. At Magnesia, a city of Asia Minor, we have more particulars. There, at the annual fair year by year the stewards of the city bought a Bull, 'the finest that could be got,' and at the new moon of the month at the beginning of seedtime they dedicated it for the city's welfare. The Bull's sanctified life began with the opening of the agricultural year, whether with the spring or the autumn ploughing we do not know. The dedication of the Bull was a high solemnity. He was led in procession, at the head of which went the chief priest and priestess of the city. With them went a herald and the sacrificer, and two bands of youths and maidens. So holy was the bull that nothing unlucky might come near him; the youths and maidens must have both their parents alive, they must not have been under the *taboo*, the infection, of death. The herald pronounced aloud a prayer for 'the safety of the city and the land, and the citizens, and the women and children, for peace and wealth, and for the bringing forth of grain and of all the other fruits, and of cattle.' All this longing for fertility, for food and children, focuses round the holy Bull, whose holiness is his strength and fruitfulness."

The bull is set apart and fed and "it is good" for those that give him food. He lives on through autumn and winter but early in April the end comes. Again a procession is formed, senate and priests, "children and young boys and youths just come to manhood" take their part in it, and the Bull is sacrificed so that his strength and vigour may pass to his people. And "'when they shall have sacrificed the Bull, let them divide it up among those who took part in the procession,'" that each "may get his share of the strength of the Bull, of the luck of the State" (*Art and Ritual*, pp. 86–89).

making ceremonies are held, a day's journey away, at Gebel Abu Nukṭa. It also is called Telli (Delli).

We shall see that elsewhere in Dárfūr analogous ceremonies are held with the object of ensuring good rains, and in every case the medium is an old woman, and offerings are made at some particular stone or tree; but in the case of Midób there is, so far as I could discover, no suggestion of the usual serpent or other demon having its lair beneath[1].

The three main sections into which the people of Midób are divided are the URTI (in the northern hills), the TORTI (or DORTI), and the SHELKÓTA (in the southern hills), but there are also certain well-defined subdivisions such as the ORDARTI, the GENÁNA—who are reckoned to have a strong Arab strain and whose name is familiar from the "nisbas" (*q.v.* in Part IV)—the TURKEDDI, the USUTTI and the KÁGEDDI. All alike (the GENÁNA excepted) claim to be MAḤASS from Dongola but they preserve no written record nor oral tradition as to the time at which they settled at Midób nor as to the circumstances of their migration. They call themselves Tiddi[2].

The old burial grounds at Midób are invariably at the foot of the hills and the sites are marked by rough cairns of stone. Exactly similar cairns occur between Midób and the Wádi el Melik, on the Wádi el Melik, at Kága and Katūl, on the Wádi el Muḳaddam, in the hills immediately west of Omdurman and in the hills between the Blue Nile and Abu Delayḳ.

VI **BERTI.** South of the Midób hills, in eastern Dárfūr, live the BERTI, a large tribe of mixed origin. To the FŪR they are known as KURMU, to the BIRḲED as SULGU, to the Midób people as Bayti. They call themselves SIGÁTO. Their upper classes put forward shadowy claims to be related to the GA'ALIÍN of the Nile valley and to the HOWÁRA[3] by descent and to the DÁR ḤÁMID group of Kordofán by intermarriage, but in appearance they are all alike negroid.

The true home of the BERTI is in the Tagábo hills between Midób and el Fásher, but in recent years, owing partly to the oppressiveness of the FŪR Sultan's rule and partly to the local failure of the crops, large numbers of them have settled to the south-east in Gebel el Ḥilla and Ṭawaysha districts, where there used to be only insignificant colonies of BERTI, and in western Kordofán. They are entirely sedentary and are rightly described by el Tūnisi[4] as a mild and

[1] Compare Ibn Selím's record of the vogue of a sacred stone in connection with rainmaking in the Sóba (Gezíra) region in the tenth century (see Part II, Chap. 2).

[2] "Tiddi" in the Berti language means "white"—probably a mere coincidence.

[3] See Part III, Chap. 8.

[4] See *Voy. Darfour*, pp. 128, 133, 136, 297.

good-natured people. In fact the Arabs despise them as spiritless and cowardly. Apart from cultivation their only industry appears to be the making of *burmas*, or jars for water or *merissa*. The process is the same as in northern Kordofán, for instance. The ball of clay is placed on a piece of rough matting, the fist is driven into it and the walls of the jar are driven out from the inside. The mouthpiece and neck are made separately and superimposed.

Iron-workers are, as usual throughout Dárfūr, held in detestation, but both the ZAGHÁWA and the BERTI harbour small colonies of servile iron-workers from the west[1].

There are two or three holy stones and trees in or near the Tagábo hills[2], where rites are performed once or twice a year. The usual occasion is just before the rains are due to commence, but it is not unusual for recourse to be had to these sites ("*maḥallát 'awáíd*" ="places of customs") also at harvest time, immediately before the reaping, in the hope of ensuring a good crop and fat kine. As at Mídób, the intermediaries are old women who hold the right from mother to daughter, but the daughter does not practise until she has had children or is advanced in years. The space round the tree or stone is carefully swept and sheep are sacrificed and offerings of meat, milk, fat and flour are made and "worship is rendered." The families of the old women officiating are allowed to sit close by and watch the rites, but the rest of the populace remain afar.

One informant denied any idea of a spirit or animal living below the sacred tree or rock, but others on the contrary held there were *afárít* (*sing. afrít* =an (evil) spirit) there, though they had no notion of their shape or form or attributes. The old women, they say, talk to these and stroke and soothe the stone.

But, as a matter of fact, those BERTI who have acquired some measure of civilization by contact with the Arabs are inclined to regard the whole matter as a superstition, and it seems to be only among the ruder type living among the Tagábo hills that the rites are still practised.

The BERTI are subdivided into innumerable sections and the names of the greater number of these correspond to the names of hills in or near Tagábo, but it was insisted by the head *Sharṭái* (*'omda*) of the tribe, from whom I obtained the following list, that it was the hills which were called after the sections, and not *vice versa*.

[1] See p. 89.

[2] One is at Sayáḥ, one at the small hill which gives its name to the whole Tagábo range. The latter of these is the most important site of all.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wámato | Wámirto | Mína | Wímáto |
| Kamdirto | Masandiát | Básinga[2] | Kadarinto |
| Sinfánto | Kaylinga | Warl | Selbalto |
| Dibayrto | Armadiát | Kamlinga | Burmáto |
| Bishinánto | Wadkeniát | Wízáto | Mirárto |
| Widárto | Kamarshowát | Kashrito | Mangilto |
| 'Abdinto | Atabirto | Kibranto | Sowáranto |
| Duḳurto | Kamalkua | Bobarto | Wiráto |
| Fóbato | Musaba'át[1] | Mismárto | Sandilto |
| Kuáto | Kudíl | Wimarto | Sambangáto[4] |
| Aminkáto | Umbáto | Buranto | Labábís[5] |
| Dadamarto | Kiráto | Ódáto | Kínáto |
| Tófíto | Umzáto | Kadanto | Umzirárto |
| Umbáto | Ḥandilto | Ḥóbáto | Shókanto |
| Koliát | Karaka | Madinkirto[3] | |

The dialect spoken by the Berti bears marked resemblances to that of the Zagháwa[6].

VII Tungur. The Tungur were reported to Barth[7] as having come originally from Dongola "where they had separated from the Batálesa, the well-known Egyptian tribe originally settled in Bénesé." Now "Baṭálesa" is simply a regular plural formed from "Baṭlūs," the Arabic form of Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus)[8], and the legend suggests that the Tungur were an ancient pre-Arab tribe from Nūbia. From certain customs that survive among them[9] one would infer that they were Christians at the date of their migration to the west. Carbou states[10] "La tradition des Toundjour parle aussi d'un séjour de leur tribu sur les bords du bahr Nil"; and one notes in confirmation that their name survives in that of the "Tungur" Rapid seventy-two miles south of Wádi Ḥalfa. On reaching Dárfūr, probably in the fifteenth or sixteenth century[11], they took up their abode in the northern or central districts. They have been spoken of by travellers as dispossessing the Dágu in Dárfūr, but there is no doubt that there

[1] Presumably Fūr by origin.
[2] The headman's own section. Cp. p. 95.
[3] Cp. "Madargarkei" among the Birḳed?
[4] Cp. "Sumbinangé" and "Sambelangé" among the Dágu.
[5] Cp. other Labábís, claiming to be Kabábísh by origin, among the Fūr.
[6] For examples see Appendix 1 to this chapter.
[7] *Q.v.* Vol. III, Ch. LI, p. 430.
[8] See, *e.g.*, Abu el Fidá, *Hist. Ant.* p. 104, ملك مصر وبعض الشام البطالسة
I see that Dr Brown, editing Leo, calls (p. 645) the "Batalises" one of the Zeneta (Berber) tribes.
[9] See Appendix 5 to this chapter. [10] I, 74.
[11] It may well have been earlier than the sixteenth century, but the Tungur are not mentioned by Leo at the beginning of the sixteenth century: cp. Barth, *ibid.* pp. 429, 430. Nachtigal thought they entered Dárfūr in the fifteenth century (see Carbou, I, 74).

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divided as to whether he was a Tunguráwi or a Fūráwi or one of the Tó Rá, the prehistoric people who, according to tradition, preceded the FŪR both in the mountains of Si and Turra (the northernmost portion of Marra, immediately south of Si). For this confusion the local blending by marriage of FŪR and TUNGUR stocks is obviously responsible, for an exactly similar doubt surrounds the ethnical status of the people of Dár Furnung themselves at the present day.

The TUNGUR were not content to remain for long in Dárfūr. In less than a century they began to extend their conquests over Wadái and up to the borders of Baḳirmi.

In proportion, however, as they moved westwards they weakened their hold over the most easternly part of their dominions and their place was taken by the KAYRA section of the FŪR with whom they had intermarried[1].

In the west they were overcome in the first half of the seventeenth century by 'Abd el Kerim, the founder of the Muhammadan empire of Wadái[2]. They then moved into Kánem and overcame the BULÁLA and compelled the Arab tribes to pay tribute. By this time, if not before, they had been converted to Islam. Subsequently they were subdued by the Bornuans, but in the middle of the nineteenth century regained the mastery by the aid of the Sultan of Wadái. Shortly afterwards, however, the AWLÁD SULAYMÁN invaded their country and made them tributary. Since then they have been of little account[3].

The tradition given by Slatin[4] is to the effect that the TUNGUR came from the north from Tunis under "Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr" (of the BENI HILÁL, the commonly reputed ancestor of the KAYRA FŪR), but this story is so obviously intertwined with the fabulous "Abu Zayd" or "Beni Hilál" cycle current in Egypt and the Sudan[5], and there may so easily be a confusion between TUNGUR and FŪR traditions, due to the extent to which they intermarried in northern Dárfūr,

[1] Note that the mother and not the father of Dáli, who is spoken of as the first Kayra Sultan, belonged to the Kayra family: the father was a Tunguráwi (Carbou, I, 77). So, too, 'Abd el Kerím (*q.v.* next paragraph) is said to have married the daughter of the Tungur king (Carbou, I, 78).

[2] Barth, *loc. cit.*; Nachtigal, *Sah. und Sudan*, III, 449 ff. and *Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 72, 93; Schurtz, pp. 541–544, and Carbou, I, 73–84, 25, 26. The last two are quoting Nachtigal.

[3] Carbou, I, Ch. III.

[4] Chap. II.

[5] The subject is discussed in my *Tribes...*, pp. 56, 57. See also Escayrac de Lauture, *Le Désert et le Soudan*, and Carbou, I, 74, 84, and II, 17. The last-named also refers to an article "Schoa und Tundscher" by Hartmann in *Der islamische Orient*, I, 29–31, and to C. H. Becker's "Zur Geschichte der östlichen Sudan" (in *Der Islam*, I^re année, fasc. II), pp. 161, 162. Becker brings the Tungur from the east. Kampffmeyer (*Studien der arabischen Beduinendialecte Inner Afrikas*, p. 166), *ap.* Carbou, I, 84, brings them from Tunis.

For an account of the Beni Hilál see Part II, Chap. I, XIV.

that one would hesitate to accept any of its details as historically correct.

The TUNGUR, however, are generally regarded as having some intimate connection with the BENI HILÁL, and, though this may only be an echo of the KAYRA tradition, the converse may equally be true, and there also remains the possibility that about the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., or even earlier, some Arabs or Arabo-Nūbians with a BENI HILÁL connection, moved westwards from the cataract region of the Nile to Dárfūr, mixed with the native races, and came to be generally known as TUNGUR[1], a theory not unsupported by local tradition[2].

There is also the bare possibility that the TUNGUR may have been related to the Berber tribes dispossessed by the BENI HILÁL in North Africa, and perhaps through them to the BENI HILÁL themselves. Or they may conceivably present a parallel to the case of the HOWÁRA settled in and near el Fásher: these latter are by origin Berbers from Upper Egypt who in Dongola and Kordofán are represented by the nomad HAWÁWÍR and the negrified GELLÁBA HOWÁRA respectively[3].

The word "Tungur" in Nūbian or Barábra means "a bow for shooting[4]"; Nūbia was known to the Pharaohs as Ta-sety (Land of the Bow), and "Les Nubiens, dit Masoudy,...se servent d'arcs arabes pour lancer des flèches. C'est d'eux que les peuples du Hedjaz, du Yémen, et les autres Arabes, ont appris à tirer de l'arc[5].... Les Arabes les nomment *les archers habiles*[6]." Their traditions connect them with Dongola and the BENI HILÁL, they preserve (as may be seen in Appendix 5) the custom of using the sign of the Cross, their name survives in a rapid on the Nile, and, all things considered, one may say that such evidence as there is clearly indicates a Nūbian origin for the TUNGUR.

If this is correct, a parallel is provided by the case of the BIRḴED which will shortly be discussed.

The TUNGUR have generally been referred to by travellers as

[1] This seems to be Carbou's view (*q.v.* I, 74 *note*).

[2] Cp. MS. D I, CXLIII, and cp. Sir H. H. Johnston's views in *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 399. He considers that a large proportion of the "Hilalian" invaders found their way from the cataract region of the Nile "across Dárfūr to Wadai, Bornu and Baghirmi, where they are represented at the present day by the Shawia. Others again mingled with Hamitic and negro elements and founded the powerful Funj dynasty of Senaar." From the second of these statements I would entirely dissent.

[3] See App. to Part II, Chap. I.

[4] Reinisch, *Die Nuba-Sprache*, p. 165.

[5] Quatremère, II, 28.

[6] Mas'ūdi, II, 383 (and cp. II, 2, XXIII above): the Arabic is سميهم العرب رماة الحدق.

Arabs, and they still, after the debased Ga'ali manner, make perfunctory claim to be descended from the BENI 'ABBÁS, however difficult it may be to reconcile this with the BENI HILÁL connection.

In Dárfūr and Kordofán it is not uncommon to see both the distinctively negroid and the distinctively dark Arab type among the TUNGUR; but in Wadái, on the other hand, Nachtigal found the TUNGUR with "a skin almost white." They spoke Arabic and had the reputation of being Arabs[1].

M. Carbou speaks of the western TUNGUR as a population intermediary between the Arabs and the KANEMBU and TIBBU, and mixed with other tribes among whom they have lived. As regards their appearance he says: "On trouve chez les Toundjour le teint clair des Arabes ('ḥamer': rouge), mais la nuance 'akhdher' (litt. vert: bronze foncé) est la plus répandue. Quelques-uns d'entre eux, assez rares d'ailleurs, ont le teint 'azreq' (noir-gris)."

Their chief, he says, is known as the *fougbou*, a word of Kánem origin[2].

Most of them are in Kánem: others are in Bornu and Wadái (Dár el Ziūd, etc.) and Dárfūr. M. Carbou scouts the idea that they came from the east and has little doubt but that there is good foundation for their claim to be connected with the BENI HILÁL and to have come from Tunis[3]. They do not practise female excision as the Arabs and Wadáyans do[4].

The TUNGUR of Dárfūr are mentioned by el Tūnisi among the minor Sultanates of that country, neighbours of the BIRḲED, living between Gedid Rás el Fíl and Tubeldía[5]. They had "une certaine dose de religion et d'intelligence, cc qui les maintient dans les limites d'une conduite plus modérée." Unlike the other petty sultans, the ruler of the TUNGUR used to wear a black turban, and he told el Tūnisi that he did so as a sign of mourning for the glory that had departed[6].

As we have seen, in the early days of their predominance in Dárfūr their capital was at Ferra, north-west of Kuttum, near Si, but they pushed southwards thence and made Gebel Ḥarayz, south of el Fásher, one of their headquarters. Moderately large colonies of TUNGUR still exist both round Kuttum and Ḥarayz. With the exception of the indeterminate TUNGUR-FŪR of Furnung they speak Arabic only and are known by no other name than TUNGUR to the various dialect-speaking tribes of the country. They are divided into a large number of sections, mostly small and negligible, but the following appear to

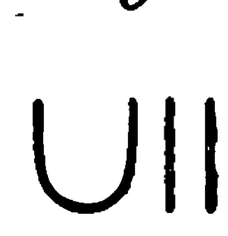
[1] *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 93.
[2] Carbou, I, 82–84 and 167.
[3] *Ibid.* II, 17; and I, 73, 74.
[4] *Ibid.* II, 17, 22.
[5] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 128, 133.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 128. The custom does not survive now.

be the most important. The brands which each most commonly uses for its animals are added, but of course many of the subsections use variants.

A. KIRÁTI (the ruling family at Ḥarayz). They use the brand (*a*) or (*b*) and call it (probably by error) the *anḳaríb* ("bedstead").

*a* *b*

B. DOWLUNGA (the ruling family at Kuttum). They use the *dingar* (*i.e. nugára* or small war-drum) with sticks as in the figure.



C. KIRWA. They use the *tuḳdi* ("reaping knife"), (*a*), or vary it to (*b*). They also use (*c*).

*a* *b* *c*

D. KŬRŬKŬRĬ. They use the *anḳaríb*, as (*a*), or as (*b*), but in the latter case call it a *nugára*.

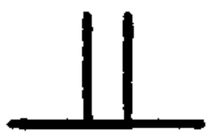
*a* *b*

E. NIMINGA. They use the brand as shewn.

F. UM KADÁRÍK. They use the *rigl el ghoráb* ("crows-foot") in the form shewn.

G. SUḲŪRI. They use a *rigl el ghoráb* in the form shewn.

H. WÁRINGA. They are said to be a branch of SUḲŪRI. The figure shews their brand, which is alleged to represent a sword hilt with an extra line for the scabbard.



J. INGUNGA. They are said to be a branch of the KIRÁTI. Their brand, round Kuttum, is as in the figure.

VIII **DÁGU.** One of the most ancient Dárfūrian races, one which now forms with the BIRḲED and BAYḲO[1] a distinct, albeit heterogeneous, negroid group in central Dárfūr, east and south-east of Gebel Marra, to the north of the BAḲḲÁRA country proper, is the DÁGU.

The grounds for any possible identification of these DÁGU with the Tágūa branch of ZAGHÁWA mentioned by Ibn Sa'id as living forty days eastwards of Tádmekka, which is in the hilly country north of Agades[2], would be, so far as I am aware, nil, and neither DÁGU nor ZAGHÁWA lend any support to such theory either by their own traditions or by obvious physical characteristics.

Browne states[3] that he gathered from native tales in Dárfūr about 1794, that "The Dageou race came originally from the north, having

[1] For the spelling of these two names see note later under Birḳed.

[2] See above *sub* Zaghάwa, and Cooley, p. 30. The occasional spelling of Dágū as "Tagu" alone leads me to mention the possibility of the identification by error of Dágū and Tágūa.

[3] p. 280.

been expelled from that part of Africa now, nominally at least, under the dominion of Tunis." This story also has nothing to recommend it.

Browne refers, too, to an alleged custom practised by the DÁGU of lighting a fire on the inauguration of their king and keeping it burning till his death. A similar custom appears to prevail in Uganda[1].

El Tūnisi mentions the DÁGU, the MAṢÁLÍṬ, the MÍMA, the KASHMARA and the ḴURA'ÁN as the five aboriginal tribes of Wadái[2], and of the first-named says:

> Les Dâdjo sont au sud du Dâr-Séleîh [*i.e. Wadái*], voisins des Koûkah... [ils] sont généralement d'un noir foncé; leur caractère est encore sauvage. Ils sont, aux yeux des Ouadayens, ce que sont les Berty aux yeux des Fôriens [*i.e. people of Dárfūr*]. Les Berty sont au nord du Fôr, et les Dâdjo au sud de Ouadây.

El Tūnisi here of course refers not to the DÁGU of Dárfūr but to those of Dár Sula in southern Wadái. The former group he mentions briefly in his book on Dárfūr as living next the BAYḴO under a tributary "Sultan" of their own[3].

Barth speaks of the DÁGU as having dominated Dárfūr in the tenth century of Islam and as being called in his time (1849–55) "Nás Fara'ón" ("Pharaoh's Folk"[4]). He regarded them as entirely different from the ZAGHÁWA and thought they might have come from the mountains of Fazoghli south of Sennár. Their traditions lend colour to this theory and their customs suggest a Bantu connection.

Nachtigal (1872), who met the DÁGU on the frontier of Dárfūr and Wadái, speaks of them[5] (the western or Sula branch, that is) as "black as jet," strongly built, and hideously ugly. As regards their state of culture they were nominal Muhammadans with numerous pagan beliefs.

[1] Browne, p. 306. A survival of this custom, now forgotten, may lie in the use of the word "nár" ("fire") as the equivalent of "sovereignty": thus it is said that such and such a tribe is "in the fire of" ("fí nár") another tribe, meaning it is subject to it; or again that so and so has been appointed "to the fire of" ("fí nár") a tribe, meaning he has been made chief over it. When I directly questioned the Dágu as to the truth of the story told by Browne, they denied it, but spoke very vaguely of some similar custom which, they believed, had prevailed among the Dágu of Dár Sula. One man vouched for the fact that Sultan Bakhít Abu Rísha of Sula (deposed by the French in 1916) had six times caught his slaves (probably Fertít, *q.v.*) lighting some such fire against his wishes and had caused it to be put out. Cp. Roscoe in *Harvard Afr. Stud.* I, 37, 38; and *Baganda*, pp. 103 and 202.

[2] *Voy. au Ouadây*, pp. 245, 248. The spelling is taken from the Arabic (*q.v.* pp. 728 ff.).

[3] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 128–138.

[4] Vol. III, Ch. LI, p. 426. The Tibbu are called "Nás Fara'ón" in the "Táríkh el Khamís," a native MS. of Wadái (see Carbou, I, 116). Cp. remarks at the close of this chapter.

[5] *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 68.

They have a shrine for their deity whom they supply very freely with merissa, and the ministers of the sanctuary do not fail to profit by this lucky fact. They have also a sacred tree which they similarly water with merissa, and a holy stone. Death is seldom attributed to natural causes or the will of a Supreme Being, but as a rule to the evil eye of a magician[1]. If by the help of the Gods and by means of some tricks of magic some of these sorcerers are discovered they are massacred without pity, their goods are seized, and their households sent in slavery to Wadái.

The "sacred tree" and the "holy stone" at once recall Bruce's description[2] of the NŪBA slaves, captives from Daier and Teḳali in Kordofán, whom the traveller met in Sennár and who adored the moon and trees and stones "though I could never find out what tree or what stone it was, only that it did not exist in the country of Sennar but in that where they were born." But as a matter of fact, as has already been noted in dealing with the BERTI and the people of Mídób, this cult is so widespread as to be almost universal in Dárfūr. Some account of its practice by the FŪR is also given later. With them, as with the ZAGHÁWA it is associated with the idea of placating some evil being, generally in the form of a snake, believed to live beneath the tree or stone. The spread of Muhammadanism has, needless to say, wrenched the ancient superstition from its original setting and re-set it in a modified form among the unobjectionable, if not quite orthodox, observances of the local True Believers; and the latter would never fail to represent their prayers as directed to the One God, however much their fears might really centre upon the hidden demon known to their forefathers. The position, from the point of view of the educated native of Dárfūr, is perhaps expressed most easily by repeating the gist of a dialogue I had with the *Maḳdūm* Sherif, lately the Sultan's viceroy in northern Dárfūr:

*Ques.* Have the ZAGHÁWA any holy places in their country? If so of what kind?

*Ans.* Yes, if anyone wants anything, or is undertaking any venture, he visits some rock or tree and makes the usual offerings of meat and *diḥn* (grease) and voices his appeal.

*Ques.* Would any rock or any stone be good enough?

*Ans.* No. There are certain definite ones, three or four in Dár Zagháwa.

*Ques.* To whom does he appeal?

*Ans.* To God, of course.

*Ques.* Does he have no local demon also in view?

[1] Cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 98.

[2] See Bruce, IV, 420 ff.; and cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 271.

*Ans.* Well, there used to be, but nowadays they appeal to God only.

*Ques.* Did they adopt this system of holy sites from the FŪR?

*Ans.* It is general in Dárfūr. The DÁGU and the BIRḲED and the FŪR and the ZAGHÁWA and BEDAYÁT all do the same, and the practice is practically universal except among the Arabs.

*Ques.* Is there a medium?

*Ans.* Yes, a woman generally. Her position is hereditary from mother to daughter, irrespective of age. Among the ZAGHÁWA she is called the *báda*.

*Ques.* Is there any particular season more favourable than another?

*Ans.* No, but of course at this present season (June) it would be for rain most people would be praying and making their offerings. The DÁGU of Dár Sula make a regular festival of it. The Sultan and his nobles attend and all the horsemen, and they place the *dihn* in front of a hole in a certain rock and wait. If the ants—the big black battling ants—come out, it is a good sign and all rejoice. If not the prospect is bad. This particular system I believe to be confined to Dár Sula. Throughout Dárfūr it is merely a question of making offerings at certain places and praying for success.

The DÁGU in Dárfūr live by cultivation and breeding cattle in the fertile tracts round Nyála and Takala to the west of Dára.

They have a hereditary Sultan, tributary to the Sultan of Dárfūr of course, as head man, and his right-hand man is the *sambei* —a sort of president of the tribal sheïkhs or *damálig*[1], who does most of the work. All the sections of the tribe are subject to the *sambei's* orders except the Sultan's own and one or two others closely related to it. The position of the *sambei*, however, is not hereditary, but almost elective. He is chosen by the people from among the body of the tribe by a consent that is as near as possible unanimous. In theory he can be dismissed by the Sultan, but in practice he is secure so long as he commands the confidence of the people.

In addition to the main DÁGU settlement in Dárfūr and the colony in Dár Sula there are also smaller groups of DÁGU in Dár Messiría, in Kordofán, on the north-west fringes of the NŪBA country in what are known as the DÁGU Hills, and even a few small and scattered settlements farther east near el Obeid[2] and, it is said, east of Teḳali[3].

[1] In Dárfūr, even among the Arabs, the tribal elders, the body that chooses or deposes the head sheikh that is, are known as "damálig" (*sing.* "dimlig"). See para. XXI to follow. The term is not used elsewhere in the Sudan. For the position of the "sambei" among the Dágu cp. that of the "dingar" among the Maṣálít (Para. XVI). The two exactly correspond.

[2] Cp. MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 51, 52. See also Carbou, I, 371, and II, 218–220. The Dágu in Kordofán are regarded locally as "Hamegs" or "Nūba" by origin.

[3] These last I have not met and I only heard of them when in Dárfūr.

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stem some centuries ago since the language of the one is all but incomprehensible to the other[1].

It is well established that the DÁGU were at one time the predominant race in central Dárfūr, the earliest known founders of a monarchy there, and that they were supplanted by the TUNGUR about the sixteenth century[2]. The coming of the TUNGUR resulted in the restriction of the DÁGU to the districts where they still live.

The main divisions of the DÁGU of Dárfūr are the following:

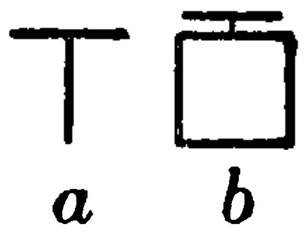
A. *To the east—*

TULINDJIGERKÉ, the royal house, holding the *naḥás*
CHORTINENGÉ, closely related to the TULINDJIGERKÉ
KALWAKÉ
SUMBINANGÉ
BUHARKÉ
DUFUGÉ
DAMBOGÉ[3]

B. *Round Nyala and south of it—*

TUMBUGÉ
KEIAWARKÉ
ADAJUNGÉ
TARŪNUNGÉ
DORUNINGÉ

The DÁGU use either of two brands on their animals, namely the "*kindirei*" or the "*lohonei*." The former is shaped as (*a*) and the latter as (*b*).




[1] The following list of common words collected at random shews the extent of the difference. The corresponding words in the Bayḳo dialect are also added.

| ENGLISH | DÁRFŪR DÁGU | SULA DÁGU | BAYḲO |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | nuáni | ung·un | nuáni |
| two | faddá | biddak | fidda |
| three | koddós | koddós | koddós |
| four | kashfé | tishek | teshwet |
| five | muddak | muddak | middik |
| six | arann | arann | arann |
| seven | fahtindi | faktindik | fátindi |
| eight | kosonda | kohandak | kosonda |
| nine | wishtanda | bistandak | tibishtenda |
| ten | assing | assin | assin |
| man | yóhé | yógi | fabangé |
| grass | niárté | nierké | nierté |
| head | assé | ísi | isé |
| black | gill | gíra | ūdia |
| red | firr | pirra | kaylé |

[2] Schurtz, p. 544; Slatin, II, Ch. 2. One would, however, be inclined to suppose from the authorities that the Dágu (and cp. the case of the Tungur above) ruled all Dárfūr. But it is beyond all doubt that they never held any power in northern Dárfūr (the Tibbu sphere), nor in Gebel Marra nor in the country north-west of it (the Fūr sphere). They do not even advance any such claim.

[3] Included in this section are the Sambelangé (Sumbinangé?). This name is said to be the Dágu form of "Shenábla." They say certain Shenábla at a remote period became incorporated among the Dágu. Cp. "Sambangáto" among the Berti (Para. VI above), and "Sambellanga" among the Tungur-Fūr of Furnung (App. 5 to this chapter).

IX BIRḴED. The BIRḴED[1] live north and east of the DÁGO and BAYḴO, between Gebel Ḥarayz and the RIZAYḴÁT country, and are a much larger tribe than either. They have also a small colony, a day's journey north-east of el Fásher, at Turza near Ṣánia Kuldingyi. Others are in Wadái, and these el Tūnisi called[2] the lowest and most despicable of folk, "traîtres, brutaux, pillards...la honte et la plaie du Ouadây." "C'est de cette peuplade," he added, "que sortent les ouvriers en fer et les chasseurs." He described them as black and slim and short. In speaking of the BIRḴED in Dárfūr he generally grouped them with the TUNGUR, and his opinion of them was that they were "traîtres, voleurs et rapaces à l'excès, sans crainte de Dieu ni du Prophète[3]."

Barth merely mentions them[4] ("Birkit") among the negro tribes on the Wadái-Dárfūr frontier.

Nachtigal says[5]:

> This tribe, composed of the slaves of the Sultan [of Wadái] has remained free of all racial admixture. The Birguid are dark grey ("*gris foncés*"), darker than the Mabas, and are of a negro type and have the character and customs of the Central Africans, and speak a language entirely peculiar to themselves[6].

Their main divisions in Dárfūr at present are as follows:

MADARGARKÉ[7], the ruling house
TUDDUGÉ, said to be HILÁLIÍN
SIRINDIKÉ
TOGONGÉ, said to be HILÁLIÍN
KAMUNGA
MIROWGÉ
KULDUKÉ
IZMANDIKÉ
TURINGÉ
FILEIKÉ
'ERAYḴÁT, *i.e.* some "Arab" 'Erayḳát living with the BIRḴED
TONGOLKÉ
KAGŪRTIGÉ
MOROLKÉ
SASULKÉ

There are also many other less important divisions. The component parts of all are, in the view of other tribes than the BIRḴED, largely adulterated by alien elements.

[1] The spelling of "Birḳed" and "Bayḳo" is taken from the Arabic of el Tūnisi. The words are pronounced "Birged" and "Baygo" respectively, and should perhaps be so spelt.

[2] *Voy. au Ouadây*, pp. 249, 250.

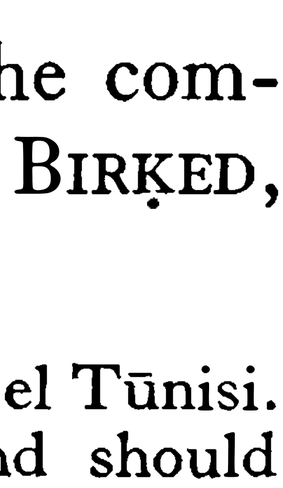
[3] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 133–136.

[4] III, 543 (App. 7).

[5] *Loc. cit.* p. 67.

[6] They now speak Arabic as well. Their "roṭána" is distinct from that of the Dágu, etc. See later.

[7] The brand of this section, called after it the Madargarké, is as shewn, representing, as a comparison with the royal Fūr brand and that of the Tungur will show, a war-drum and sticks. It is interesting in view of what follows to note that the Serár Buḳḳer ("Cattle Folk") at Gebel el Ḥaráza in northern Kordofán also use a brand called "Bayt el Nugára," which represents a small round drum and stick, as in the figure. (See MacMichael, *Camel Brands*, p. 34.)



In the palmy days of the Dárfūr Sultanate the BIRḲED country was the appanage of the Fūr dignitary known as the *Urundulu*[1]. The latter employed four *mulūk* (*literally*, "kings") as farmers of revenue there[2]. The BIRḲED, unlike the BAYḲO, DÁGU, ZAGHÁWA, BORKU, MÍMA and TUNGUR, had, it seems, no "Sultan" of their own[3], and it is stated at the present day that they only had a *Sharṭái* or local *'omda* at the head of their tribe. Consequently, it may be presumed that they had no *naḥás*, and certainly they had no *wakíl* or vizier corresponding to the *dingar* of the MAṢÁLÍṬ and the *sambei* of the DÁGU, but only a number of *damálig* subject to the *Sharṭái*.

Their country was known by the name of Kajjar—a term said to have included the DÁGU and BAYḲO lands also—and the BIRḲED themselves are still known to the FŪR as KAJJARA, to the DÁGU as KAGÁRUGEI and to the BAYḲO as KAJARGÉ[4]. They call themselves MURGI.

A few BIRḲED live in Kordofán, south of el Obeid, and it is traditionally reported in northern Kordofán that about the beginning of the eighteenth century they were the ruling people in the hills of Kága and Katūl and were ousted thence by the BEDAYRÍA[5].

The tendency among their neighbours near el Obeid is to class the BIRḲED with the TOMÁM and TUMBÁB, who are negroid tribes with pretensions to a Nūbian-Ga'ali connection[6], as of HAMAG or NŪBA descent.

Now in collecting a small vocabulary of BIRḲED in Dárfūr in 1917 I found two interesting facts. In the first place, the BIRḲED of Turza mentioned that the people to whom they were most nearly related in Dárfūr were those of Gebel Midób; and in the second place the dialect of the BIRḲED in southern Dárfūr[7] bears an obvious similarity to the Nūbian and Kanzi vocabularies collected by Burckhardt[8]. These two facts transpired quite independently of one another and provide a clue to the origin of the BIRḲED. It will be remembered that the people of Midób claim to be an ancient colony of MAḤASS and

[1] See later *sub* Fūr.

[2] El Tūnisi, *Voy. Darf.* p. 137.

[3] *Ibid.* 138, where no Birḳed Sultan is mentioned.

[4] Their name probably survives too in that of the great wádi Kajjar (maps "Kága," "Kajja," "Kía," etc.) which runs between Dár Maṣálíṭ and Wadái.

[5] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 66.

[6] See Part III, Chap. 1, and the genealogical trees of the "A" group in Part IV.

[7] The Birḳed of Tarza only speak Arabic. They say their fathers all spoke a "roṭána," as the southern Birḳed still do. The latter are a large tribe, and not a small settlement with Arabs living round them as is the case at Tarza.

[8] See Appendix 2 to this chapter.

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Immediately after Ibn Selim's account of the Sudan Maḳrízi places the following passage:

J'ai vu aussi dans une lettre adressée par certaines tribus à l'émir des croyants 'Ali ben Abou Taleb[1], qu'il était fait mention des Bedjahs et des Kadjahs lesquels sont très méchants, mais peu pillards[2]. Les Bedjahs sont ainsi; quant aux Kadjahs, on n'en connaît que ce qu'en dit 'Abdullah ben Ahmed l'historien de Nubie[3].

'Abdulla ibn Aḥmad is Ibn Selim el Aswáni, who wrote between 975 and 996 A.D., but what he had to say about the "KAJJARA" we do not know because the extracts from his work quoted by el Maḳrízi contain no mention of them.

X **BAYḲO.** The BAYḲO, neighbours of the DÁGU and BIRḲED, are said by Slatin[4] to belong to the MONOLKÉ family and to have emigrated from the Baḥr el Ghazál in ancient days and to have been granted lands in Dárfūr on condition of supplying annually a maiden for the royal harem. But the mother of the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl (1800–1838) was a Bayḳawía and he, in consequence, declared the tribe free for ever, and forbade the buying and selling of them under penalty of death. The BAYḲO at present, as is natural, deny the implication of "slave" (*i.e.* negro) origin and merely point with pride to the fact of their intermarriage with FŪR royalty. As a tribe they do not claim to be Arabs but, as usual in Dárfūr, the royal house of BAYḲO, the holders of the *naḥás*, the TERKIT ḤAGGAR section of the ṢUBḤÁNÍN that is, affect a Ga'ali origin. It was one of them, by name Um Būsa, who married the father of Muḥammad Faḍl. Of their early history the BAYḲO know little, but the general tradition among them is that their ancestors came from the East *via* southern Kordofán and the NŪBA country at much the same time as the BAḲḲÁRA. The tradition is, however, much too vague to have any real value. Browne identified the BAYḲO ("Bégo") too closely with the DÁGU in speaking of "the people of Bégo or Dageou who are now [*i.e.* 1799] subject to the crown of Fūr but are a different tribe which formerly ruled the country[5]"; but at the same time the dialects of the BAYḲO and DÁGU are almost identical[6] and it is curious that when I asked

[1] The letter must therefore have been written within twenty years of the conquest of Egypt.

[2] Burckhardt translates (p. 509): "Warlike nations who do not make much booty." The above quotation is from Bouriant's translation (II, 570).

[3] Burckhardt translates: "But I know not who the Kedja are." [4] Ch. II.

[5] Browne, p. 285. There is a mention by Ibn Sa'íd (*ap.* Abu el Fidá, p. 158) of a people called the Bájó, connected with the Zagháwa, and the term puzzled Barth (*q.v.* Vol. III, Ch. LI, p. 426). It is, however, very unlikely that the Bayḳo are meant.

[6] *E.g.* see examples given above when speaking of the Dágu.

the present Sultan of the BAYḴO for his pedigree he traced it (as follows) to Aḥmed el Dag, whom we have already met as a DÁGU Sultan: Muḥammad "Kebkebé" son of Abukr "Náḳa" son of 'Omar son of Ḥusayn son of 'Ibba son of Náfi' son of Ḥaggar son of Aḥmad el Dag. At the same time he repudiated all relationship with the DÁGU and attributed the similarity of dialects to the fact that the tribes had long been neighbours in Dárfūr.

It seems probable that the BAYḴO either came to Dárfūr from much the same direction and at much the same period as the DÁGU —physically the two are indistinguishable—or else that the DÁGU came from the east and were joined in Dárfūr by the negroid BAYḴO from the south-east, and that the latter borrowed the language of the former but preserved their independence. The DÁGU dialect bears resemblances to those of Nūbia but in this respect falls far behind the BIRḴED dialect[1].

The status of the BAYḴO in el Tūnisi's day seems to have been much the same as it is now, but little is said of them beyond that they were ruled by a petty Sultan of their own[2]. The tribal *wakíl* or vizier or President of the Council of Sheikhs (*Damálig*), the *sambei* of the DÁGU, is among the BAYḴO called the *gindi* (*plur. genádi*). His chief function, outside the sphere of administration, is said to be that of performing the accession ceremony[3] for a newly succeeded Sultan.

Of the subdivisions of the BAYḴO, once very numerous, only a few are now remembered. These fall into the two main groups of Ṣubḥánín ("Easterners") and Gharbánín[4] ("Westerners") and include the following:

TIRKIT ḤAGGAR[5] (the royal house) TIRKIT MARSHŪT[5]
KOROBAIḴI[5] FÁMAKI[5]

[1] *E.g.*—

| ENGLISH | BAYḴO | DÁGU of DÁRFŪR | DÁGU of SULA | (MÍDÓB) | From Burckhardt's *Nubia* NŪBA | KANZI |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| cow | teinyé | teinyé | teinyé | (tur) | tyga | tyg |
| horse | murtanné | murtani | murté | (porrnyi) | mortyga | koky |
| ass | kátchiné | kachiné, or kakiné | katché | (utchi) | kadja | hanoub |
| mouth | ikunga | akké | uké | (ál) | akka | agilk |

The percentage of Birḳed words that resemble Nūbian words is a good hundred per cent. higher, I should say, than in the case of Dágu or Bayḳo words. The numerals of the latter, for instance, differ entirely from those of Nūbia.

[2] El Tūnisi, *Voy. Darf.* pp. 128, 134, 138.

[3] "Yadarrag" = (Ar.) "gives rank to...." The Sultan himself was my informant on the point.

[4] The Bayḳo cannot pronounce the Arabic "*gh*," so they call this group the "Harbánín."

[5] These are Ṣubḥánín.

| | |
|---|---|
| TIRTUSHKI, or TIRTEJKÉ[1] | MÁSEKÉ |
| LUDUKÉ[1] | TILANGÉ |
| DÍSAKÉ[1] | SHERMITKÉ |
| NYOGOLGOLÉ[1] | MAHANGÉ |
| KALAKALIKA[1] | |

Outside Dárfūr there are said to be many BAYḴO, with DÁGU, between Teḳali and the White Nile in Dár Kebír, and a considerable colony of Nyogolgolé are said to have lived for many generations at Kafiakingi in the Baḥr el Ghazál[2].

The BAYḴO call themselves BÉOGÉ. To the FŪR they are known as BÉGONGA, to the TÁMA as BÉGUKUNG, to the DÁGU as BÉOGÉ, and to the BIRḴED as BÉKÉ.

XI There are also in Dárfūr several tribes of distinctively western origin, FELLÁTA, TAKÁRÍR, "BORḴU," "BORNU," MÍMA, "ABU SINŪN," and MARÁRÍT. Of these the MÍMA are the oldest colony.

## MÍMA.

The town of Mima is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa in the middle of the fourteenth century as lying not far to the west of Timbuktu: of the latter town the traveller remarks "most of its inhabitants are people of Míma, or of the tribes called el Mulaththamūn[3]" (*i.e.* the Veiled Ones, the TUWÁREK BERBER).

Apparently they, or a branch of them, subsequently moved eastwards. El Tūnisi says of them in 1803:

Les Mymeh constituent une population qui se compose de plusieurs tribus divisées en fractions. Ils sont d'un noir foncé comme de l'encre. Ils habitent au sud direct du Ouadây, sur la même ligne que les Dâdjo et les Koûkah[4].

He also alludes to a branch of them as under a tributary Sultan in Dárfūr[5]. Nachtigal mentions them as a large tribe in Wadái, but most of them had scattered in the south of that country and lost their racial identity. The rest of them preserved their language, which was akin to that of the ZAGHÁWA and the ḴURA'ÁN, and had a *melik* of their own[6]. Their social reputation was, like that of the ZAGHÁWA, unsavoury, and they had largely intermarried with that tribe.

[1] These are Gharbánín and can be referred to as "genádi," *i.e.* sections subject to the "gindi."

[2] Their headman is spoken of as "Maḳdūm Náṣir."

[3] See Cooley, pp. 45, 84, 86. Older writers than Ibn Baṭūṭa used the form "Amíma."

[4] *Voy. au Ouadây*, p. 249.

[5] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 128, 138, 297. These were at feud with the Beni 'Omrán Arabs.

[6] *Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 65, 74, 75; and cp. Carbou, II, 199; the latter calls them "Mimi ou Moutoutou."

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tribal organization, speaking Arabic, and divided into two main groups, the 'IBBA and the 'IKKA[1].

There remain the western frontier tribes, the slave tribes, and the FŪR themselves.

To take these in turn:

XIV ḴIMR. Dár Ḳimr lies north of the MAṢÁLÍṬ country and east of Dár Táma. To the north and east of it is open country sparsely populated by nomadic ZAGHÁWA of the KUBBÉ and KUBGA sections. It is a small tract, poor in natural resources, sandy in parts and stony in others, and its people live by cultivating *dukhn* and breeding sheep and cattle. The water supply is moderate. Iron is plentiful, especially at Bábiri.

The population claims to be Arab, GA'ALIÍN from Metemma by origin, but, beyond the fact that it is Arabic-speaking (with the exception only of the ABU JÓKHA section, who speak Táma) and has no dialect of its own, there is no reason to think the claim has much to recommend it.

The name ḴIMR, like the name ERMBELI, which is used in place of it in Wadái, means "dove[2]," and there are variant traditions that the ḴIMR were the original inhabitants of Dárs Táma and Maṣáliṭ[3] or, as the FŪR say, that they were once TEMŪRKA (FŪR) who could change themselves into doves.

The FŪR call the ḴIMR "ORANG'A," the TÁMA and the DÁGU call them "GIMRUK" and "GUMERKÉ" respectively. Not being a warlike people they have suffered much at the hands of the more rapacious ZAGHÁWA, MAṢÁLÍṬ and FŪR[4].

Politically they formed a part of the Dárfūr Sultanate, save in so far as they could maintain their independence, and from time immemorial they have had a petty Sultan of their own.

Their main subdivisions are:

1. MIGGI (the ruling section)
   - (*a*) dhurríat Ṭáhir
   - (*b*) ,, Ḥusayn
   - (*c*) ,, Nakhít
   - (*d*) ,, Būlád
   - (*e*) ,, Mūsa
   - (*f*) ,, Hárót
2. ABU JÓKHA
   - (*a*) Efferé
   - (*b*) Showa
   - (*c*) Ligám

[1] El Tūnisi (*Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 129, 134, etc.) speaks of those south of Marra as "Foullân," by which name they are known to the Arabs and Hausa in West Africa. The Kanūri call them Felláta. To ethnologists they are commonly known as Fulbe or Fūl or "Poul": see Barth, Vol. IV, Ch. LVII, p. 143. In the Sudan the term Felláta is loosely used to cover the Hausa also.

[2] The Arabic is قمري.

[3] Cp. Nachtigal, *ap.* Carbou, II, 215.

[4] Cp. Carbou, II, 204, 205; Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 73.

3. KURBU
   (*a*) Gidayrnuk
   (*b*) Ownga
   (*c*) Ṣábir
   (*d*) Rimayla
4. LŪK
   (*a*) Awlád Ḥaggar
   (*b*) ,, Sikín
   (*c*) ,, Meddi
   (*d*) ,, Ḳera'a
5. BÁGI
6. GERMŪK
7. Mo'ūK
8. GENNIBAIŪK
9. TILINGBAIŪK
10. MILLA
11. BULGERO
12. AKERMŪK
13. LERÍK

XV TÁMA. Dar Táma, lying to the west of Dár Ḳimr, on the Wadái border, is more fertile and more thickly populated than either Maṣálíṭ or Ḳimr. It has always been a bone of contention between the Sultans of Wadái and Dárfūr and has been temporarily subjected by both at different times. At other times it has preserved a measure of independence, and it has always had a Sultan of its own.

Its people are spoken of by Matteucci[1] as "de taille élevée (près de 1m, 80), tête brachycéphale (350), angle facial très ouvert (81°)," and Nachtigal saw in them a close resemblance to the DÁGU (of Sula, presumably), a mixture of whom with earlier ḲIMR inhabitants they may represent[2].

Nachtigal says their dialect is similar to that of the SUNGUR of Wadái and of the DÁGU and the BIRḲED[3], but it is more than doubtful whether, in the case of the last two peoples mentioned, he was right. Their dialect is quite distinct in vocabulary from any Dárfūr tongue, if one except only that of the ERENGA of Dár Maṣáliṭ.

XVI MAṢÁLÍṬ. The MAṢÁLÍṬ[4] country is 7000 to 7500 square miles in extent and is bounded to the west by Wadái, to the south by Dár Sula, to the north by Dárs Táma and Ḳimr, and to the east by the Fūr. The central districts are undulating and sandy with numerous small rocky outcrops; the south is mountainous. The northern districts, those of the ERENGA and Gebel Mūn, are more stony and unfertile: they will be dealt with separately in the following section. The great *wádis* Báré and Kajja, on the east and west respectively, provide an excellent water supply at a shallow depth, and deeper wells, giving a more precarious supply, are also dug inland from these two arteries.

[1] See Carbou, II, 207.
[2] See Carbou, II, 205.
[3] *Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 66, 69, 74. Perhaps the Sungur are to be identified with the Asung'ūr branch of Erenga (*q.v.* later). The Táma dialect and that of the Erenga are practically identical.
[4] They call themselves Maṣaláṭ as a rule, but are usually known to others as Maṣáliṭ. The Táma call them Masarak.

The population is fairly numerous in the central districts and is socially on about the same plane as that of eastern Dárfūr. In the south it is more numerous and less civilized. Cattle and sheep form the chief wealth of the Maṣálíṭ, and *dukhn* is their staple food product. Iron is found in plenty throughout the country. On the whole, however, Dár Maṣáliṭ is distinctly a poor country, and, but for the trade-route from Abesha to el Fásher which bisects it, would be a mere backwater.

Like Dár Táma it has always been a bone of contention as between Wadái and Dárfūr, but the former power never held any rights in it and merely made occasional attacks on it as being the nearest part of Dárfūr.

Previous to the Egyptian conquest of Dárfūr Dár Maṣáliṭ was a part of the western district and subject to the viceroy (*maḳdūm*) of the west. The ERENGA and MŪN districts in the north were counted a part of the FŪR district of Mádi, the MAṢÁLÍṬ living east of Wádi Báré were under Kerné, and all the rest was a part of Fía and subject to the *Sharṭái* of that district. At this period, whereas the ḲIMR (also under Mádi) and two sections of ERENGA had petty Sultans, the MAṢÁLÍṬ had only *firrash* (*sing. fersh*)—who are dignitaries of distinctly lower rank and less importance than *Sharáṭi*.

It was only in the Dervish days that a single Maṣaláṭi *amír* united under his rule the ERENGA, MŪN and MAṢÁLÍṬ, and not until the close of the Dervish days that he assumed the title of Sultan and claimed complete independence. At present the *firrash* of the various ERENGA and MŪN groups, and the *Sharṭái* who is over the former, are all placed in subjection to a *maḳdūm* of the MAṢÁLÍṬ Sultan, and this viceroy is simply a *mamlūk*, an old Dinka slave who has attained to a position of the highest trust. The various MAṢÁLÍṬ sections are allotted as appanages to members of the royal family or state functionaries and administered on feudal lines. The Sultan is of course supreme over all. To assist the *firrash* (in the case of MAṢÁLÍṬ, ERENGA and MŪN alike) there is a body of *damálig*[1].

In FŪR days, they say in Dár Maṣálíṭ, each *fersh* had also a *sambei* or chief executive officer and representative, attached to him, as was also the custom in the case of the Sultan of the DÁGU; but since the chief *fersh* of the MAṢÁLÍṬ has become a "Sultan," this has been dropped.

[1] See p. 74.

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In el Tūnisi's day they were under four "kings" (*i.e. meks*) and their country formed a part of Dar Abo Uma[1].

At the present day they are ruled by a petty Sultan with a *naḥás*, but the administration appears to be, in fact, in the hands of the *wakíl*, or *dingar*—a term denoting properly a small drum (*nugára*) of wood, but generally applied to the *melik* or *fersh* who holds the same. The Sultan conducts business and issues orders through the *dingar*, who is, in fact, a sort of vizier.

The royal section, that of the *naḥás*, among this southern Dárfūr colony is the SERBUNG, which is subdivided into SUGURBO, KUNDERUNG, KAIDUNG, BIALUNG and other subsections; but the remaining subsections are reckoned as belonging to the *dingar*: the chief of these are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| MUNGARÉ | UMBERTCHUNG | GUNKUNG | AWNUNG |
| UMBŪS | FOKANYUNG | MERKERINN | |

The dialect spoken is the same as that of the western MAṢÁLÍṬ, but the tradition current as to the origin of the tribe is different. The colony in southern Dárfūr state that their ancestors came from the Yemen *via* northern Dárfūr. The fact is that neither division of the tribe has the remotest idea where it came from and each hazards a guess to which little attention need be paid.

In addition to the two main settlements described there are some MAṢÁLÍṬ in Wadái, and others in Dárfūr in the districts south-west of el Fásher, namely Dóbó, Ṭawila, Gebel Ḥarayz, etc., living among and intermarried with the FŪR and TUNGUR. Their parents were mostly prisoners of war deposited here and there as colonists by the FŪR Sultans.

XVII **ERENGA** and **MŪN**. These two peoples have already been spoken of as living in the northern part of what is now Dár Maṣálíṭ. The language of both is alike and to all intents and purposes is the same language as that spoken in Dár Táma.

The MŪN, or Mūl, are a very small community and have not more than sixty odd villages. The ERENGA are considerably more numerous. They call themselves BIRRUNG, but every other tribe calls them ERENGA[2]. The MŪN are called MŪN or AHL EL GEBEL by Arabic-speaking people, and JEBARÓK (*i.e.* JEBALÓK) by the ERENGA, and MŪN or JEBALTÁ by the MAṢÁLÍṬ.

[1] El Tūnisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 136, 137. See p. 98 and note on p. 95.

[2] I do not know the origin of the word, but "Eringé" is the Maṣálíṭ word for "Arabs." It may be, and probably is, pure coincidence that "erunga" is the family name of the snake people at Tira el Akhdar in southern Dár Nūba (see Seligman, Art. "Nuba"), and that the Erenga word for "rain" (or "sky") is "arr," while at Dilling (northern Dár Nūba) "rain" is "ara," and at Mídób it is "arri."

The main subdivisions of the ERENGA are the following:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| SHÁL˙ | MARÁRÍT[1] | OWRA | DARÓMI |
| ASUNG˙ŪR | DULA | GIRGA | NYUDUNG˙ŪR |

The OWRA and MARÁRÍT have "Sultans" of their own: the rest only *firrash*.

XVIII ḤADÁḤÍD. Scattered here and there in Dárfūr, but particularly in the neighbourhood of the TÁMA and MAṢÁLÍṬ border are small colonies of Ḥadáḥíd (or "Ḥadádín"), that is, "Blacksmiths." These have been in the country for many generations and have come to be looked on, in some cases,—rightly or wrongly—as FŪR; but most of them certainly originate from Wadái or west of it and, when asked, say so. As is usual in north-central Africa from east to west they are held in general contempt and the rest of the population do not intermarry with them. This feeling of aversion towards the workers in iron is strongest among the ZAGHÁWA, who so far from intermarrying with them would not eat or associate with them. They are a hereditary caste and are called *Míro* (*sing*. *mír*) by the FŪR. From casual remarks of contempt that I have heard used in speaking of them I should say that it was not so much to their dealing with *iron* that they owe their inherited unpopularity as to their employment of *fire* for the purpose[2].

XIX "SLAVE" TRIBES. The "slave" tribes of Dárfūr may be divided into two groups; firstly, colonies of negroes from outside Dárfūr imported by successive Sultans *en bloc* and settled on the land during the last century or two, but particularly by the Sultan

[1] See p. 83. There are also Marárit among the Maṣálíṭ proper.

[2] Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 80–81) records the contempt with which the blacksmith is held in Bornu, Wadái and Dárfūr "and in general among all the Tibu tibes" and that in Wadái no one would think of marrying one of their women or eat from the same plate as a blacksmith. The "Sultan of the Ḥadádín" is there a kind of carnival king. Thus, too, in Dárfūr 'Ali Dinár contemptuously appointed as "Sultan of the Ḥadádín" a rival to the Sultanate whom he overthrew as a preliminary to his own succession.

Compare Carbou, I, p. 49 *et seq*. and 209: "*Ḥaddâd* chez les Arabes, *dogoâ* chez les Kanembou, *azâ* chez les Toubou, *noégué* chez les Boulála, *Kabartou* chez les Ouadaïens, les forgerons sont toujours profondément méprisés...." In Kanem the majority of the workers-in-iron are of Tibbu-Ḳura'án origin.

So, too, in the east: cp. Bent, p. 212. "The Blacksmith in Abyssinia is looked upon with mingled dread and superstition...he is supposed to have the power of turning himself into a hyaena and committing ravages on his enemies."

Compare the following from "The Pre-Bantu Occupants of East Africa" (Beech), in *Man*, March, 1915: The ancient population of the Kikuyu country in East Africa are reputed to have been cannibal dwarfs called Maithŏachiana. These latter, according to the District Commissioner of Fort Hall, "appear to be a variety of earth-gnomes with many of the usual attributes....Like earth-gnomes in most folklore, they are skilled in the art of iron-working....It is a Kikuyu insult to say 'You are the son of a Maithŏachiana.'"

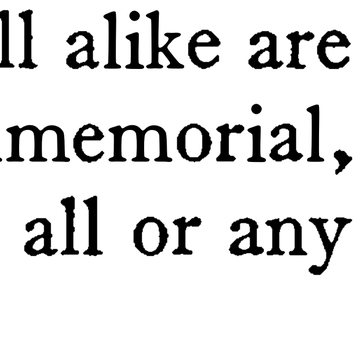
Tíráb towards the end of the eighteenth century; secondly, negroes whose home, so far as is known, has always been in Dárfūr. Apart from these two groups, of course, innumerable DINKA, FERTÍT, NŪBA, NIAM-NIAM and negroes of various other Baḥr el Ghazál tribes have been imported singly or in small batches into Dárfūr as slaves, their families broken up, and their wives and daughters used to breed children for their captors from the earliest period to the present; but of these it is unnecessary to say more at this juncture.

To the first of the two groups specified belong such people as the TURŪG, who are by origin NŪBA from Gebel Teḳali in Kordofán, imported by the Sultan Tíráb, the 'ABÍDÍA round Kebkebía and Kuttum, who were slaves of Kordofán tribes imported by the same monarch, and the DÁDINGA[1], who are said to have been in Bornu, their true home, until about two hundred years ago and to have sojourned awhile in Dár Táma prior to their removal to Dárfūr.

The second group is in the extreme south and falls partly within Dárfūr and the Baḥr el Ghazál Province and partly in French Equatorial Africa. Among these, in Dárfūr, to the east are the MANDALA (or BANDALA) and the SHATT, living in the RIZAYḲÁT country and the northern Baḥr el Ghazál, and to the west a certain number of KÁRA, BINGA, BANDA, DAYGA (DIGGA), FORÓKÉ, FUNḲUR, etc. This latter congeries, however, has its main habitat in the western Baḥr el Ghazál and in the French sphere to the west of it. It is commonly known by the vague generic term of FERTÍT, but I believe that the negroes themselves who compose it distinguish between a western division, all speaking dialects of the same tongue and consisting of KÁRA, SÁRA, GŬLA, MÉDI, KOIO, VÓR, DŪDŪ, BINGA, RUNGA and FÉRI and known in general as "YÉR," and a loose eastern group of "FERTÍT" consisting of DIGGA, BÉA, ḲERAYSH, SHAYRÉ, BONGO, BELUNDA, etc. To the Arabs, of course, all alike are "slaves" who have been raided by themselves from time immemorial, and the name of "FERTÍT" in common parlance embraces all or any of them. They appear to belong to the Bantu family.

Now in Dárfūr tradition relates sometimes that the original habitat of these FERTÍT was in Gebel Marra and that the FŪR race is no more than a conglomerate body composed of them; or sometimes—a more probable theory—that the aboriginal FŪR were a distinct race though it has amalgamated with the FERTÍT tribes in

[1] Their brand, or rather that of their chief, the Melik Maḥmūd el Dádingáwi, the most generally respected man in Dárfūr in 'Ali Dinar's time and one of his chief councillors and commanders, is as (*a*). Others use such variants as (*b*). Compare the Fūr brand (p. 95).



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Sí, etc.) and the hills south-west and west of it in a state of savagery until some BENI HILÁL Arabs under Aḥmad cl Ma'aḳūr, a descendant of Abu Zayd el Hiláli who was himself descended from the BENI 'ABBÁS[1], came to these parts. It was a descendant of this Aḥmad named Sulaymán and surnamed Solong—the word Solonga means Arab in the FŪR tongue—who finally established an overlordship over the FŪR and welded them into a single political unit and became ancestor of the royal line[2]. He and his son Mūsa ruled from Turra,

[1] This is, of course, impossible. The Beni 'Abbás have no connection with the Beni Hilál (see Part II, Chap. 1).

[2] As being "Beni 'Abbás" they claim a kind of kinship with the Ga'aliín, and "Idrís Ga'al" or "Edrisdjal" appears as paternal grandfather of Sulaymán Solong (see Nachtigal, *ap.* Helmolt, *World's History*, p. 585). The same Ga'ali connection is implied in the tradition that Sulaymán was "son of a Temūrki [Fūr] and an Arab woman of the tribe of Bedayría of Kordofán" (Escayrac de Lauture, *Bull. Soc. Geogr.* Aug.–Sept. 1855, p. 79), the Bedayría being generally reckoned Ga'aliín of a sort. A similar claim is also preferred in the case of most of the African kingdoms west of Dárfūr. For instance, in Wadái, a Ga'ali from Shendi—a *soi-disant* 'Abbási that is—by name 'Abd el Kerím ibn "Yame" (the "Gáma'i" of the Ga'aliín pedigrees, ancestor of the Gawáma'a) is the traditional ancestor (see Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 70 and 93; and Part III, Chap. 1 on the Ga'aliín-Danágla group).

The details of Sulaymán Solong's ancestry are extremely vague and various. I have generally heard him spoken of as an Arab of the Beni Hilál who married a Fūr princess. He sometimes appears as a son of Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr, and sometimes as descended from him in the second or third or more distant generation. His mother is variously reported as an Arab or a woman of the Maṣálíṭ, but there is no sort of agreement about him beyond the fact that he was "an Arab" and connected with the Fūr by marriage. Both the Fūr (Kungára) and the Tungur, while admitting they are entirely different from one another in race, claim to be descended from Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr of the Beni Hilál; but the fact is likely to be that a combination of Fūr and Arab (the Kayra section), reminding one of that of the Bega and Arab in the eastern Sudan, intermarried with the Tungur as a preliminary to succeeding them in northern and eastern Dárfūr at the end of the sixteenth century. Dr Helmolt's tree, *q.v. The World's History*, p. 585, based on Nachtigal's and Slatin's accounts, shews "Fôra," a daughter of the Kayra chieftain, married (*a*) to the father of Sháu Dorshíd, the last of the Tungur Sultans of Sí (for whom see p. 67), and (*b*) to Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr the "ancestor of the Tungur in Dárfūr." To her first husband she bore Sháu and to her second Dáli, the ancestor of Sulaymán Solong. To pursue the matter in detail is a waste of time, and all that one need note is the existence of an ancient Fūr stock, connected on the one hand with the Islamic Arabs and, on the other, with the Tungur.

That the succession was matrilinear is also obvious. As each dynasty succeeds the last, tradition seldom fails to marry the founder of the new dynasty to the daughter of the last representative of the old. This system maintained in Egypt under the early New Kingdom, and almost certainly before, and in the Ptolemaic era (see Murray, "Royal Marriages and Matrilinear Descent" in *Journ. Roy. Anthrop. Inst.* XLV, 1915), among the Bega and in the Christian kingdom of Dongola. We shall see, too, how the Arabs, to whom the practice had been familiar in Arabia, readily adopted it for their own purposes when they conquered Dongola, and how it was in vogue among the Berber princes round Asben in the fourteenth century. Fuller details and references will be found in a note to Part II, Chap. 2, XXXIII.

So, too, Barth (II, 273) says: "The Kanúri even at the present day call people in general, but principally their kings, always after the name of their mother, and the name of the mother's tribe is almost continually added in the chronicle as a

between Marra proper and Si[1]. The aboriginal population, both here and in Gebel Si, is fabled to have been "Tó Rá" but no more is known of them and they are not differentiated by tradition in any way from the original FŪR[2].

Towards the end of the seventeenth century the FŪR were sufficiently powerful to leave the mountains. The MUSABA'ÁT, a branch of the KUNGÁRA, had already found their way into Kordofán[3], and the royal capital of the other FŪR was now set up near Ṭina in the fertile country at the eastern foot of the Turra range. From here the FŪR not only subdued all eastern Dárfūr but by the second half of the eighteenth century Tiráb had overrun Kordofán, crushed the

circumstance of the greatest importance." Again, in Baḳirmi, Barth says (III, 453): "The mother of the Sultan, or the 'Kuñ-bánga,' is greatly respected, but without possessing such paramount authority as we have seen to have been the case with the 'mágira' in Bórnu, and as we shall find exercised by the Móma in Wádáy."

A relic of the same idea no doubt survives in the official position of dignity until lately enjoyed by the grandmothers of the Sultan of Dárfūr and in particular the maternal grandmother. El Tūnisi says (*Voy. au Darfour*, p. 184) on this subject: "Si le sultan régnant a encore son mère et sa grand'mère, elles ont chacune un rang; bien entendu, ce rang n'est pas une dignité toujours présente dans l'État; il meurt avec celles qui en sont revêtues."

Thus the Tungur, in claiming Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr as their ancestor, marry him to the daughter of the last Dágu Sultan, the Dágu having been predominant until the coming of the Tungur; and Sulaymán Solong is allotted an Arab mother (Slatin, Ch. II). Similarly, the Musaba'át, calling Aḥmad el Ma'aḳūr a Hiláli, marry him to the daughter of the last Tungur Sultan (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 56), and the Dágu of Dárfūr agree with them in this tradition.

[1] Turra is part of the same range as Marra. It is the burial-place of the Dárfūr Sultans and there stand the tombs of Sulaymán, Mūsa, Aḥmad Bukr, Muḥammad Dowra, Abu el Ḳásim, Tíráb, 'Abd el Raḥman el Rashíd, Muḥammad Faḍl and Ḥusayn. They were rebuilt by 'Ali Dinár about 1910 in red brick with grass roofs in place of the old stone and mud edifices. The graves of Sulaymán and Mūsa his son are in a single tomb standing alone to the north of the rest. 'Abd el Raḥman, Muḥammad Faḍl and Ḥusayn have a single large tomb. The others have each a separate tomb. The five tombs containing Mūsa's successors are side by side in a single walled enclosure. Near by the tomb of Sulaymán and Mūsa is a large stone mosque built by the Sultan Aḥmad Bukr (1682–1722) which is still in good repair but for the roof. There is a similar mosque called "Gáma'i Kurro" near Buldang, between Kebkebía and Kulkul to the north-west of Marra. This is said to have been built by Abu el Ḳásim (1739–52) and is a large well-made construction of red bricks, morticed with earth and slips of stone and having arched doorways and windows.

[2] The people of Turra say the Tó Rá were called after the giant lizard or "monitor" (*Ar.* "wiril," or "warana"), called "to" in Fūr dialect. Its scientific name is *Varanus Niloticus*. The same name "to" or "tow" occurs also as the nickname of the present "Sharṭái" of the Birḳed.

[3] For the various accounts of their secession see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 60–62. The name of Tonsam, the traditional Musaba'át ancestor and (generally) uncle of Sulaymán Solong, survives in Tunsum, or Tulzum as it is now called, a site in the hills between Turra and Ṭína. The Musaba'át in Kordofán have twisted "Tonsam" into "Muḥammad Tumsáḥ." Practically all accounts, though differing in details, date the Musaba'át secession from the time of Sulaymán Solong. The name "Musaba'át" is derived from "ṣobaḥa," "to go east." The Arabic *ḥ* is commonly dropped by the Fūr and the *ṣ* weakened to *s*.

secessionist MUSABA'ÁT, and advanced as far east as the Nile, to Omdurman and Shendi[1]. After such achievements it was the natural course to found a capital in a more central position and 'Abd el Raḥman el Rashíd (1785–1799) chose el Fásher, which is two days' journey east of the Marra range in a sandy open country suitable for cultivation and endowed with a good supply of water. Thus the more civilized members of the race, KUNGÁRA for the most part, left the rough and rocky fastnesses of the hills and the broken country beyond to their ruder and more savage brethren of the other branches of the FŪR.

El Tūnisi[2] correctly divides the race into KUNGÁRA, KARÁKIRÍT and TEMŪRKA. Roughly speaking, the first named are in the east, though they are to be found intermarried with other Fūr in the west. The KARÁKIRÍT are properly the people of Gebel Si, and the TEMŪRKA are in the south-west beyond Gebel Marra. But, as a matter of fact, no exact lines can be drawn between the three groups, and elements of the first in particular are scattered far afield. Even though there may be an original substratum which is of distinctively "FŪR" origin, there are the traditional grounds quoted for supposing that the various FERTÍT tribes have become grafted upon this stem to such an extent that the FŪR of the present have quite as large an element of FERTÍT in their composition as of true FŪR.

It is at once obvious as one travels in Dárfūr and enquires as to the inter-relationships and groupings of the FŪR that their subdivisions, apart, perhaps, from the main groups of KUNGÁRA, KARÁKIRÍT and TEMŪRKA, are local or totemistic in origin rather than linear[3]. Their names are taken, not from a common ancestor, but either from some hill or valley, or some bird or beast or grass[4]. After a few general remarks on the KUNGÁRA and TEMŪRKA it will, therefore, be best to arrange such information as there is about the composition of the FŪR district by district rather than to try to trace ramifications of any single family throughout Dárfūr.

The KUNGÁRA include, beside the royal KAYRA section, the great MUSABA'ÁT group which broke away to the east in the seventeenth century and conquered Kordofán and remained in power there until ousted by the KUNGÁRA from Dárfūr in 1784–1785[5]. The KUNGÁRA

[1] Both Shendi and Metemma are said to be Fūr names.

[2] *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 134.

[3] When enquiring for a traditional ancestor among Arabs one never draws blank. The Fūr, however, are nonplussed and hazard such guesses as "that fellow Adam, was it not?" or "Sulaymán Solong."

[4] Examples are given later. See also note on p. 34.

[5] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chaps. I and II.

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singular *Dimangowi* is formed from this word and the head sheikh (*Sharṭái*) of the district is still known as the *Dimangowi* or *Dumungowi*.

"DIMANGA" therefore includes all the TEMŪRKA and *soi-disant* KUNGÁRA under the Dumungowi. This group includes several sub-divisions, local rather than lineal, namely:

| | |
|---|---|
| MURGINGA, or MURKEI, the Dumungowi's own section | HAGARANGA |
| BURNA, or BURNABATINGA | SURONGA |
| NUYGONGA | MAYRINGA[1] |
| MEDERINGA | TEBELLA[2] |

Now el Tūnisi, who speaks of the Dár Abo Dima ("Dar Abadyma") as the TEMŪRKA country and of the Abo Díma himself as the dignitary "qui a le Témourkeh comme apanage attaché à son rang[3]," describes the latter as living in a less mountainous and inaccessible country and as being more civilized than the rest of the FŪR, who were "une population à peau très-noire, ayant les yeux rouges sur la sclérotique, et les dents naturellement rougeâtres... brutaux et colères, surtout dans l'état d'ivresse...d'une grossièreté et d'une brutalité extraordinaires," but he is either making a comparison with the FŪR of Marra, to whom the words quoted admirably apply, or (more probably) he refers to the KUNGÁRA element which, as personified by the headman, may have been the only one in the Abo Dima's sphere with which he happened to have been brought into contact. The name TEMŪRKA[4] at present is used to designate the less civilized element in the far south-west, who are feared on account of their power to transmogrify themselves into animals and to come to life again after death, and is almost a term of reproach. Of their customs more will be said later. Dár Abo Dima extends, roughly

est-il tué à la guerre, le Kâmneh, s'il lui survit et s'il revient, est mis à mort; on l'étrangle en secret. Son successeur est élu par le sultan nouveau. Si le sultan meurt dans son lit, on laisse survivre le Kâmneh. Les pays du Dârfour où on ne parle pas arabe appellent encore le Kâmneh, aba-fory, le père du Dârfour"—[This is not quite accurate: "Abo" is a courtesy title]—"...Il a...presque la même liberté de conduite et d'action que le Sultan..." (p. 172).

When 'Ali Dínar was killed in 1916 the "Fūré" of the day, one Sayfo, a Fūr, survived (having deserted a week or two before) and so incurred great odium among the Fūr. I heard him spoken of not only as the "neck" but "*the half* of the Sultan," *i.e.* I suppose, his "second self." El Tūnisi's account was more or less borne out except that I understood that however the Sultan died the "Fūré" must die also and that for a new Sultan there must necessarily be a new "Fūré," but of the same family.

[1] Called after a local grass named "mayri."

[2] The word means "pigeons" in Fūr. It is used both of the district and its inhabitants.

[3] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 136, 141, 146, 148.

[4] In Fūrian dialect "Tumurdongo."

speaking, as far north as the wádi 'Aẓūm, which rises in Gebel Marra and flows west to Gebel Murni on the MAṢÁLÍṬ border and thence south-westwards until it becomes the Baḥr el Salámát.

North of the Aẓūm lies Dár Kerné[1], subject to a Fūr functionary called the Niamatón. To the north and north-west again of Dar Kerné are the districts of Fía[2] and Mádi[3]. According to the Niamatón himself all his subjects with few exceptions are RUNGA and other kinds of FERTÍT settled in their present positions by past Sultans of Dárfūr as serfs. He even speaks of his chief Sharṭáis as FERTÍT. Needless to say, he claims Arab blood for himself, though calling himself a FŪR and being a slave to all the local superstitions and customs. Of tribal divisions he has practically no conception and distinguishes group from group on purely local lines. The TEMŪRKA of Dár Abo Díma he regards as half FŪR and half FERTÍT, the Sharṭáis chiefly the former and the common villagers the latter. The particular type of FERTÍT commonest in Dár Abo Díma, according to the Niamatón, are the FORÓKÉ, the people, that is, whom the DÁGU say they found west of Dára on their first arrival and ejected. The TEBELLA, he says, are properly BINGA, and as it is certainly true that the TEBELLA are popularly regarded as differing in some way from the rest of the Dumungowi's subjects, this explanation may have some truth in it. In fact, if the Niamatón is in any way to be trusted all Gebel Marra and western Dárfūr was at one time the home of FERTÍT tribes, and they were only partially dispossessed by the DÁGU, TUNGUR and Arabs[4]. How they came to be called FŪR and why they speak one single language, which is not that of any of the FERTÍT tribes I have met, both in Marra and the east and the west, the north and the south, he fails to explain, and one hardly sees any explanation but that the FŪR were a distinct race at some early period however much they may have subsequently amalgamated with the FERTÍT[5].

Fía district, under the old Sultans, included what is now the northern part of Dár Maṣálíṭ, and Dár Erenga which, though generally

[1] Kerné in Fūr means [the] trousers [of the Sultan].
[2] Fía means a hare.
[3] Mádi means one who walks in front [of the Sultan's horse].
[4] Speaking of the Fūr outside Dár Abo Dima and Kerné the Niamatón affirmed the people of Nurgnía (western slopes of Marra) were Banda, those under Sharṭái 'Ali (eastern slopes of Marra) were Binga, those of the Umungowi (east of Marra and in it) were Makraka (a tribe closely affiliated to the Azande) from Baḥr el Gebel, and even the Karákirít of Gebel Sí were "Fertít" also.
[5] Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 260) says the Kungára language is quite different from Nūbian (*i.e.* Barábra) and seems to have strong affinities with some South African languages. The Fūr, whether Kungára or not, all speak the same language at present. A table comparing it with the Fertít dialects is added in Appendix 2 to this chapter.

included in Maṣálíṭ, is really a separate district between the latter and Dár Ḳimr. Numerous ERENGA and MAṢÁLÍṬ now live among the FŪR outside their own *dárs*.

The FŪR of Fía divide themselves into MOGUNGA (called after Gebel Mogu), ANDUNGA ("*anda*" in Fūr means a scout), MADRINGA, ABTUNGA (called after Gebel Abtu), ELGANGA (called after the tonsils: it is said the Fía people were once expert at cutting them out of children's throats), MAILUNGA (called after Gebel Mailo) and ISÁKHUNG (called after an ancestor 'Isákha, the Dárfūr form of 'Isḥáḳ[1]). The *Sharṭái* of Fía, like the Niamatón, has no idea of tribal subdivisions as distinct from local groups of mixed origin.

On the eastern side of Gebel Marra lives the Umungowi. This name is formed from Abo Uma (the Sultan's "left hand"), as "*Dumungowi*" is from Abo Dima[2], and his people may be referred to as UMUNGA. His country seems once to have theoretically included, as the old maps shew, the territories of the RIZAYḲÁT and other BAḲḲÁRA, the BAYḲO, BIRḲED and DÁGU, but he is now restricted to a very limited area in the hills.

As would be expected the Umungowi claims that he and the majority of his people are KUNGÁRA, and they do, no doubt, contain a KUNGÁRA element, especially in the case of the ruling clan, the MAYRINGA, whom we have already met in the Dumungowi's country to the west.

He divides his people into nine "*wurrári*" (a word used among all the FŪR to denote their various groups), namely:

| | |
|---|---|
| MAYRINGA | TURŪG |
| KUNGÁRA | MÍRI |
| ZÓMI | SŪNI[4] |
| SŬMBI[3] | WANNA, including (*a*) Nuygonga[5] |
| DULLO | (*b*) Tūm |

All the above are subject to the MAYRINGA. As regards their antecedents he is vague, but the DULLO, the SŪNI and the WANNA (or WANNANGA) he classes as "Gebbála" or Hillmen, and for the WANNA he admits a slave origin[6].

[1] There is also a Gebel 'Isákha in Fía, but it is denied that the Isákhung are named after it.

[2] His territories were bounded to the north by Dar Dáli, or Abo Dáli (the Sultan's "trunk"), which was subject to the Abo Sheikh and extended to the eastern frontier.

[3] The word means a spear.

[4] The word denotes a small dark species of dove common in Dárfūr and Kordofán.

[5] Cp. the Dumungowi's list.

[6] A certain Gayta ibn Salab, he says, was their ancestor. Gayta was "a slave of Pharaoh of Egypt."

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KUNYANGA. These belong properly to the great northern district of the Tekenyáwi, now inhabited by ZAGHÁWA, TUNGUR, Arabs, etc., but they have also colonies farther south, especially round Beringil and Dára. Their claim to be KUNGÁRA is probably a good one since the head of their group held the hereditary rank of "*Melik el Naḥás*" ("King of the War Drums").

XXI Something may now be said of the habits and customs of the FŪR.

In the first place, they are all now nominally Muhammadans, but so they were in el Tūnisi's day, a century ago[1]. Previous to their conversion "by Sulaymán Solong" they are popularly supposed to have worshipped "stones or trees," and there is, so far as I have seen, always either a stone or a tree intimately associated with the malignant local genii whom it is still considered advisable to placate. Certain spots are "sacred" to these genii, and are known as "*maḥalát 'awáid*" ("places of customs, or rites") in Arabic, or "*ádingallo*" in Fūr. For instance, when I was touring in western Dárfūr (Kerné district) in 1916, accompanied by the Niamatón, it twice happened that our road passed by one of these spots and nothing would induce the Niamatón, in spite of his "Arab ancestry" and his contempt for his FŪR subjects, to remain with me. He insisted in each case in making a *detour* of some miles to avoid the "holy" spot. The other FŪR who were with me were unaffected because the observance of the custom applied only to the headman of the district and to no one else. Had the Niamatón been able to sacrifice a sheep on the spot all would have been well and he might have passed it in safety, and he would normally have sent word on ahead to the nearest village to meet him there with the animal for slaughter; but the exigencies of travel had rendered this impossible and it therefore only remained for him to avoid the place. He firmly believed that the alternative was sudden death for himself within a few months.

The explanation he and his friends gave as follows. At one site, called Sergitti[2], is a stone under which lives a devil (*shaitán* or *gin*). The headman of Kerné district must never pass by this stone without offering a sacrifice to the devil, but the prohibition applies to no one else whether he be the Sultan of Dárfūr or a village sheikh. The site marks no boundary and it makes no difference

[1] *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 145.

[2] In Gebel Kongyo, a mile west of Gulli, at the foot of a steep incline, in the bend of a small *khor*, where the track crosses it and where the villagers draw their water (at the depth of a few feet) throughout the year. The "stone" referred to was an ordinary boulder undistinguished in any way from any other boulder near it. Cp. p. 122 for another similar case.

from which side it is approached. The local devil has the form of a short fat white snake about two feet long with a large black woolly head the size of a man's fist and enormous eyes. An old woman living at Gulli, near by, used to be the familiar of this monster. Her position was hereditary, but she died leaving no descendants and her functions are therefore in abeyance.

The Niamatón on reaching the stone would slaughter a sheep[1] in such a way that its blood would gush over the stone and would drag the carcase across the path which he was to take. The old woman would remain behind after he had passed to make up cakes of blood and flour and cut the meat into strips and arrange these morsels on or by the stone for the snake. She would at the same time hold converse with the snake and intercede with it for the Niamatón's immunity from all harm, and the snake would appear to her and talk to her and grant her request. She would address it as "ya waladi" ("my child") and pet it and place it in the shade.

In the summer offerings are made to this same snake to ensure good rains for the crops. The local sheikh and elders perform this ceremony in lack of the old woman familiar, but, of course, the snake would not appear to them or hold any communication with them.

In another case, in Kerné district, it was an old *ḥaráz* tree by the edge of a khor running through a gap in some low hills, and not a stone, under which the local snake lay hid. I also heard of other similar sites in western Dárfūr and at Dóbo on the eastern side of Marra, but I did not visit them.

Sacrificial offerings of a rather different nature are common among the FŪR, and especially at Gebel Sí, the KARÁKIRÍT district. These are made by persons about to start on a journey or any perilous venture and are designed to placate the local demons. The intermediaries in all such cases are the old women of the village.

The belief in the "sacred" snake is not confined to Dárfūr. Professor Seligman and I found traces of it in northern Kordofán some years ago at Kága, where the local "NŪBA" believed a great snake to live in the hill called Abu 'Áli and had once been accustomed to send their women to placate it[2], and the Abyssinian Gregorius in the seventeenth century told Job Ludolfus, the Treasurer to the Elector Palatine, that it was an old belief in Abyssinia that the ancient "Ethiopians worship'd for their god a huge serpent, in that language call'd Arwe-midre[3]." The same cult exists in southern Kordofán

[1] As a rule, the sheep must be "akhdar" in colour, but I am not sure if this is universal.

[2] For details *re* this and *re* the cult at Kága see Seligman, Art. "Nūba" in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia*.

[3] Ludolfus, Bk. II, Ch. I, and Bk. III, Ch. VI.

among the Nūba, *e.g.* at Gebels Tekeim and Tira el Akhdar, at the present day[1].

A less unattractive type of sprite in Dárfūr is the *damzóga* (*pl. damázíg*). These are mischievous, and, in particular, delight to curdle fresh milk and break household utensils, but they may also be conciliated and will then act as guardians of the home and prevent any pilfering or suchlike. El Tūnisi gives a long and substantially reliable account of these *damzógas*. He heard of them rather in the *rôle* of guardian genii, to whom flocks and household gear were entrusted for protection. He also relates of them how he was terrified at Gebel Marra, on calling at a man's house, by hearing a loud cry of "*akibé*," meaning "he is not here," and was told:

"C'est le génie gardien de la hutte. Ici, presque chacun de nous a le sien; et nous les appelons en fôrien damzôg[2]." He was told later in Fásher that *damzógs* could be bought. "J'entendis souvent raconter," said his informant, "que les Damzôg s'achetaient et se vendaient; que, pour s'en procurer, il faut aller trouver quelque propriétaire de Damzôg, et lui en acheter un au prix demandé. Une fois le marché conclu, on revient avec un carâ[3] de lait et on le donne au vendeur, qui le prend et le porte dans le lieu de sa demeure où sont ses Damzôg. En entrant, il les salüe, et va suspendre le carâ à un crochet fixé au mur. Ensuite il dit à ses Damzôg: 'Un de mes amis, un tel, très-riche, craint les voleurs, et me demande que je lui fournisse un gardien. Quelqu'un de vous voudrait-il aller chez lui? Il y a abondance de lait; c'est une maison de bénédiction; et la preuve c'est qu'il vous apporte ce câra de lait.'"...

The *damzógas* were at first unwilling, but at the final appeal:

"Oh! que celui de vous qui veut bien aller chez lui descende dans le câra!" One of them apparently relented. "L'homme s'éloigne un peu, et aussitôt qu'il entend le bruit de la chute du Damzôg dans le lait, il accourt et pose vite sur le vase ou câra un couvercle tissu de folioles de dattier. Il le décroche ainsi couvert, et le remet à l'acheteur, qui l'emporte chez lui. Celui-ci le suspend à un mur de sa hutte, et en confie le soin à une esclave, ou à une femme, qui, chaque matin, vient le prendre, en vide le lait, le lave parfaitement, le remplit de nouveau lait fraîchement trait, et le suspend à la même place. Dès lors on est en sécurité contre tout vol et toute perte[4]."

El Tūnisi's comment on this story is "Pour moi, je traitais tout cela de folie," but it is none the less interesting and it seems to provide additional evidence of the "sacred" attributes of milk to which further reference will be made in the note at the end of this chapter.

[1] For details *re* this and *re* the cult at Kága see Seligman, Art. "Nūba" in *Hastings's Encyclopaedia*. Cp. Roscoe, *Baganda*, pp. 320 and 321.

[2] El Tūnisi, *loc. cit.* pp. 149, 150.

[3] *I.e.* a gourd.

[4] El Tūnisi, *loc. cit.* pp. 150, 151. El Tūnisi relates a further story about a *damzóg* in the same strain.

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—and there is no evidence of recent change in this respect—is simple. At the head of the affairs of each district is a *Sharṭái* (*pl.* *Sharáṭi*)[1], corresponding roughly to the *'omda* of the rest of the Sudan. An important *Sharṭái* has under him several lesser *Sharáṭi*, each of whom controls a particular group of villages[2], and all alike are purely secular officials of the same tribe or sub-tribe as the people to whom their district belongs.

Each *Sharṭái* has also under him a varying number of *damálig* (*sing.* *dimlig*) or tribal elders[3].

A *Kursi* is a kind of president of the council of *damálig*.

In dividing tribal dues (in Gebel Si) the *Sharṭái* takes two shares (one for himself and one for the Sultan), while the *Kursi* takes one share, which again is subdivided in similar proportions, the *Kursi* getting two-thirds of it and the rest of the *dimligs* one-third. The functions of the *Kursi* are executive, viz. to carry out the behests of the *Sharṭái*, collect taxes, etc. His position is customarily hereditary, passing to the brother or son, but in cases of personal unsuitability some other *dimlig* is chosen. Below the above in rank are the village sheikhs, commonly called *mulūk* (*sing.* *melik*)[4].

There is also, however, an interesting and somewhat shadowy figure still to be accounted for—the *Urundulu*. In the FŪR country proper every *Sharṭái* has his *Urundulu*, and the Sultan at el Fásher always used to have one also. As to what exactly were his functions there is some difference of opinion. In Dár Abu Dima and Kerné his functions appeared to approximate to those of a *Ḳádi* and to have been primarily religious. If there is a criminal or civil case to be decided and the facts are not in dispute, the judgment is simply given by the *Sharṭái*. But if proofs are needed or witnesses are called the matter goes before the *Urundulu* who reports his finding to the *Sharṭái* to enable the latter to give judgment or sentence. If a fine is imposed it is shared between the two.

[1] The word is regarded as of Arabic derivation though whether this is really so seems doubtful. The proper Fūr term for a Sharṭái is "Kíso," or "Kisóng" (*pl.* "Kísong·ong").

[2] A head-Sharṭái is called "Kísong·ong Kirri" (Chief of the Sharṭáis).

[3] El Tūnisi, p. 176: "Les simples gouverneurs secondaires de districts ou de communes sont appelés 'chartây' (au pluriel 'chérâty'). Les inspecteurs des tribus portent le nom de 'damálidj' (singulier de 'doumloudj') qu'ils prononcent 'doumledj.'" As el Tūnisi's editor notes, the term "dimlig" is of Arabic derivation and means "a sort of bracelet worn above the elbow." The proper Fūr term for "damálig" is "kilmo," and a single "dimlig" is usually called by them "dilmong" when they talk in Fūr. Cp. note to p. 74 above.

[4] "Melik" is, of course, a purely Arabic term meaning "king." The proper Fūr term for a "melik" is "sagal" (*pl.* "sagla").

At Gebel Si, on the other hand, I could find no hint of any religious functions pertaining to the *Urundulu* and he was spoken of as simply a vizier to the *Sharṭái*.

As regards the Sultan's *Urundulu*, or the "*Urundulu* of el Fásher," the term is said by el Tūnisi to denote "the head of the Sultan," and the *Urundulu* was

un haut et puissant dignitaire, qui possède, comme prérogatives, plusieurs grands domains....On porte devant lui un tapis, comme devant le Sultan. Quand celui-ci va à la chasse ou en voyage, la fonction de l'orondolon est de marcher avec ses soldats, en tête des troupes; c'est lui qui ouvre la marche.

But the interpretation of the name as "head of the Sultan" is contradicted by what the people of Abu Díma, Sí and Kerné alike state, namely, that the term means "the threshold of the door." It is, they all explained, through the *Urundulu* that anyone desirous of approaching the Sultan or *Sharṭái* must prefer his request[1].

When Dárfūr was reoccupied in 1916 there was still a nominal *Urundulu* at el Fásher, but his privileges and powers were nil, and the Sultan seemed to have taken no notice of him whatever and merely to have allowed him to exist as a sort of traditional survival. Similarly, but to a much slighter extent, in the out-districts peopled by FŪR there has evidently been some change, and with the wider spread of Islamic manners the fekis have increased and it is now usual for them to be consulted as much or more as the *Urundulus*, and the latter have lost much of their distinctive character. Local Ḳádis have also arisen, appointed by the Sultans, and among the non-FŪR tribes perform the same functions as the *Urundulus* among the FŪR, but with the aid of a greater smattering of Muhammadan law than the latter possess.

In Dár Abu Díma if a man die a natural death he is buried free of charge; but if he is killed in a quarrel or murdered a sum equivalent to about a pound or so has to be paid as a burial fee by his relatives to the *Urundulu*, who shares it with the *Sharṭái*. This is called "buying a grave," but no purchase of land is implied, since the money would have to be paid even if the deceased owned the land on which he was buried[2]. The fee, which is entirely distinct

[1] The Fūr word for "a door" is "wurré" or "urré." The word for a "fiki" is "ūr." The same word ("ūr") also means "flour" (made by grinding grain on a "murhaka").

[2] Some feeling was caused in 1916 when during the disturbances that accompanied the reoccupation some Arabs were killed by the Fūr and the latter were not only averse to paying "día" (blood-money) but crowned their impudence by demanding a "burial fee" from the Arabs before they would consent to let the Arabs bury their dead.

from blood-money or fines, is, nevertheless, alleged to have been originally devised as a deterrent to quarrelsomeness; but this explanation is unconvincing and the fee is charged irrespectively of there having been a quarrel at all (*e.g.* if a man is murdered in his sleep) and whichever party may have been to blame. If an *Urundulu* were killed, his relatives, it was held by the *Sharṭáis* of whom I enquired, would pay the fee to his successor. Blood-money is paid in the usual manner by the relatives of a murderer as compensation to the relatives of the murdered man, but in addition a fine of six head of cattle has to be produced by the people of the district (*ḥákóra*) in which the murderer resides and given to the *Sharṭái* of the district of the murdered man. This is, no doubt, correctly explained as a measure to deter evildoers by making it to the interest of their neighbours to prevent them from offending.

A well-known feature of savage etiquette, that of the avoidance by a man of his mother-in-law and by a woman of her father-in-law maintains in Dárfūr, as in Kordofán among the Arab nomads and the sedentary population, and in the Gezira, if not universally in the northern Sudan. El Tūnisi says of this subject[1]:

> Lorsqu'un individu est fiancé à une fille, s'il fréquentait précédemment le père et la mère de sa future, et si celle-ci fréquentait aussi le père et la mère du prétendant, les relations des deux familles sont interrompues du jour même de la demande en mariage; ils se deviennent tous absolument étrangers. Alors, si le fiancé aperçoit de loin le père ou la mère de sa future, il prend un autre chemin que celui où il les voit: le père et la mère en font de même à son égard. La fille évite également la rencontre du père et de la mère de son futur époux....Il est de règle, ainsi que nous l'avons dit, que lorsqu'un individu est amoureux d'une jeune fille, et que la mère de celle-ci a consenti à l'accepter pour gendre, il ait soin d'éviter la rencontre de sa future belle-mère, qui, à son tour, doit aussi éviter de se trouver face à face avec son futur gendre. Si donc elle le voit venir de son côté, et qu'étant trop près de lui elle ne puisse pas ou ne veuille pas s'éloigner assez vite, elle s'accroupit à terre, ramène un pan de ses vêtements sur sa tête, se voile la figure, et reste ainsi cachée jusqu'à ce que l'amant de sa fille soit passé.

The above is still correct. In particular, it is taboo for a man to eat with his mother-in-law, or a woman with her father-in-law. If the parties were forced by circumstances to speak with one another they would do so briefly and rapidly with bent heads.

There seems to be also some reluctance on the part of a man to speaking or eating with his father-in-law, but it is very slight and not universal. He would even have qualms about speaking to the brothers

[1] *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 219, 236.

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A custom connected with circumcision which came to my notice on one occasion may be quoted here. The incident happened at a village of ḲIMR near Kebkebía, but it was said to be common to all Dárfūr, Arabs and others. When a boy has been circumcised his parents trick him out in the gayest apparel possible, even with women's trinkets and a man's sword in the particular case under notice, and for a period of fourteen days after the circumcision the boy demands from any wealthy visitor to the village, and from his relatives, a customary gratuity as by right. He is also for a period of forty days from the circumcision sent to visit neighbouring villages and it is incumbent upon the person visited to sacrifice a fowl in his honour. The fowl may be cock or hen, and no animal or bird but a fowl is acceptable.

XXII All the villages of the FŪR that I have seen are as dirty and badly built as those of the other inhabitants of Dárfūr. The present generation when living at any distance from the *gebels* usually build a conical *tukl* of straw or grass with a *rakuba* attached; but when there is a supply of rocks handy they often place a layer or two of them at the base of the sides of the *tukl* as a protection against white ants and prowling beasts of prey, and superimpose the straw, or else make all the wall of stone and only the roof of straw. In the past the population must have been quite ten times what it is now: whole mountains that are now utterly deserted may be seen, as one travels, to be "*terrassed*" for cultivation; their sides, that is, are banded horizontally up to a considerable height with narrow ridges made by so arranging the stones that the side of the hill, instead of being a continuous slope is a series of short steps. On these banked-up steps, which would hold the rain-water, the corn was planted, and the utilization of every available foot of ground for this purpose testifies to the previous density of the population.

Similarly, remains of old stone villages litter the whole country-side in the vicinity of Gebel Marra and its countless foot-hills. The houses were round or square and the walls fairly well built of rough unshaped slabs and rocks, but in some cases there was a solid foundation of stones built up above the ground-level, upon which, it is said with probability, some sort of grass hut was erected.

In plan the villages were mere rabbit-warrens with the houses built close together on high ground suitable for defence. The poorer man would apparently have no more than a single hut, but the better-to-do would have an enclosure containing a number of rooms or else a group of several huts built contiguously to one another. The chief's enclosure—as one assumes it to be—generally occupies a central position on the highest ground and is larger, better built, and more

intricate in design. Figs. 1, 2, 3 will serve to give a rough impression of the curious designs of some of these enclosures so far as I could reconstruct their ruins. The first represents a chief's house some seventy feet up on a ledge of Gebel Kowra. (This *gebel* forms a connecting-link between Gebel Sí, to which it belongs, and Gebel Marra. The road from el Fásher to Kebkebía passes through it.) The other two figures are of large houses at the old village of Deriblayn on the western edge of Gebel Si, to the north of Kowra.

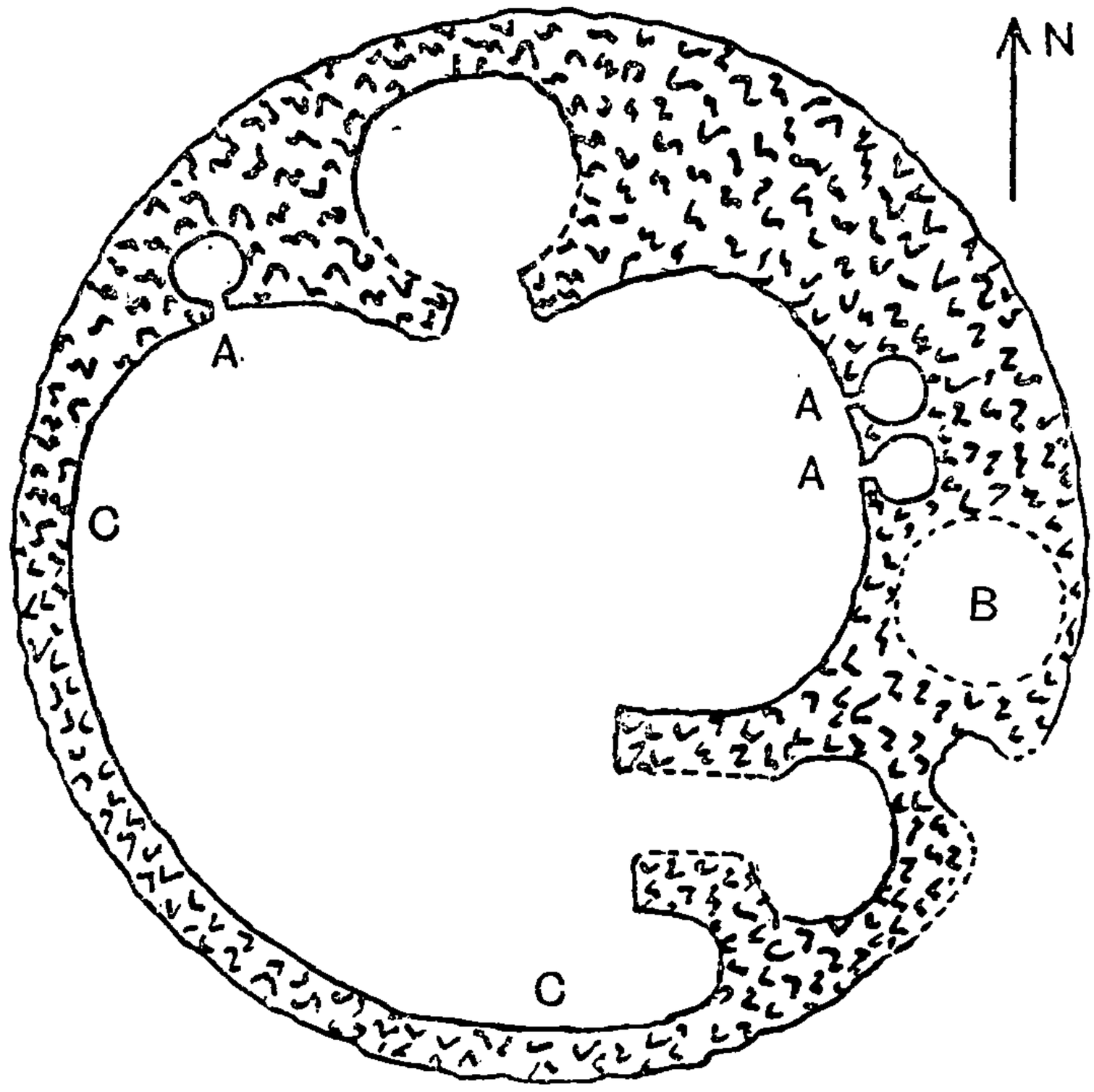


Fig. 1 (from Gebel Kowra). A = small closets. B = circular upper chamber standing on platform built to same height as walls. Other similar but smaller houses stand back to back with that pictured. Wall, CC, about 2 feet thick.

The date of none of these villages is known for certain, but so far as can be ascertained they were inhabited until Zubeir Pasha devastated Dárfūr late in the last century. The most curious feature of the buildings is certainly the little closet-like recesses built into the walls. In some cases (as in the figures portrayed) these closets were single, generally about two and a half or three feet high, with a concave roof, and an entry barely big enough to admit a small human being. In other cases they were double, the smaller closet leading by a tiny doorway into a rather larger closet of similar design.

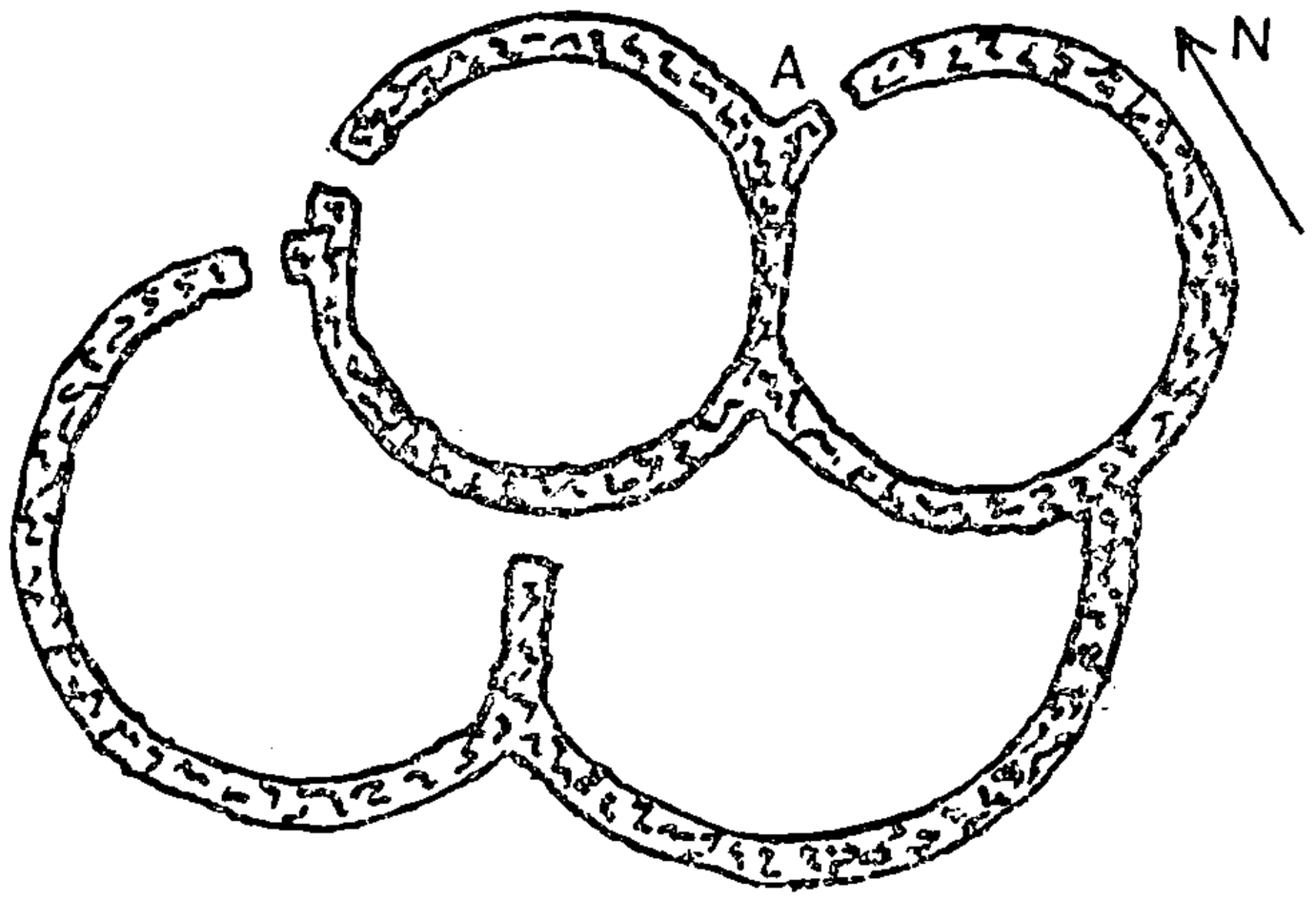


Fig. 2 (from Gebel Sí). Diameter of rooms about 3 yards. Walls about 3 feet high. A, door with stone slab as lintel.

Whether these rocky holes were built for warmth in the cold weather or as female apartments, or for some other purpose, one cannot say.

The majority of the enclosures contained only single-storey buildings of simple circular design, but in the more important ones one often finds an upper-storey room built over the closets or on the top of the wall, which is broadened sufficiently to support it.

I have not personally visited any of the present-day villages in the most inaccessible and undisturbed portions of the range, namely, the heart of Gebel Sí and the peaks above Kálokiting, at the south

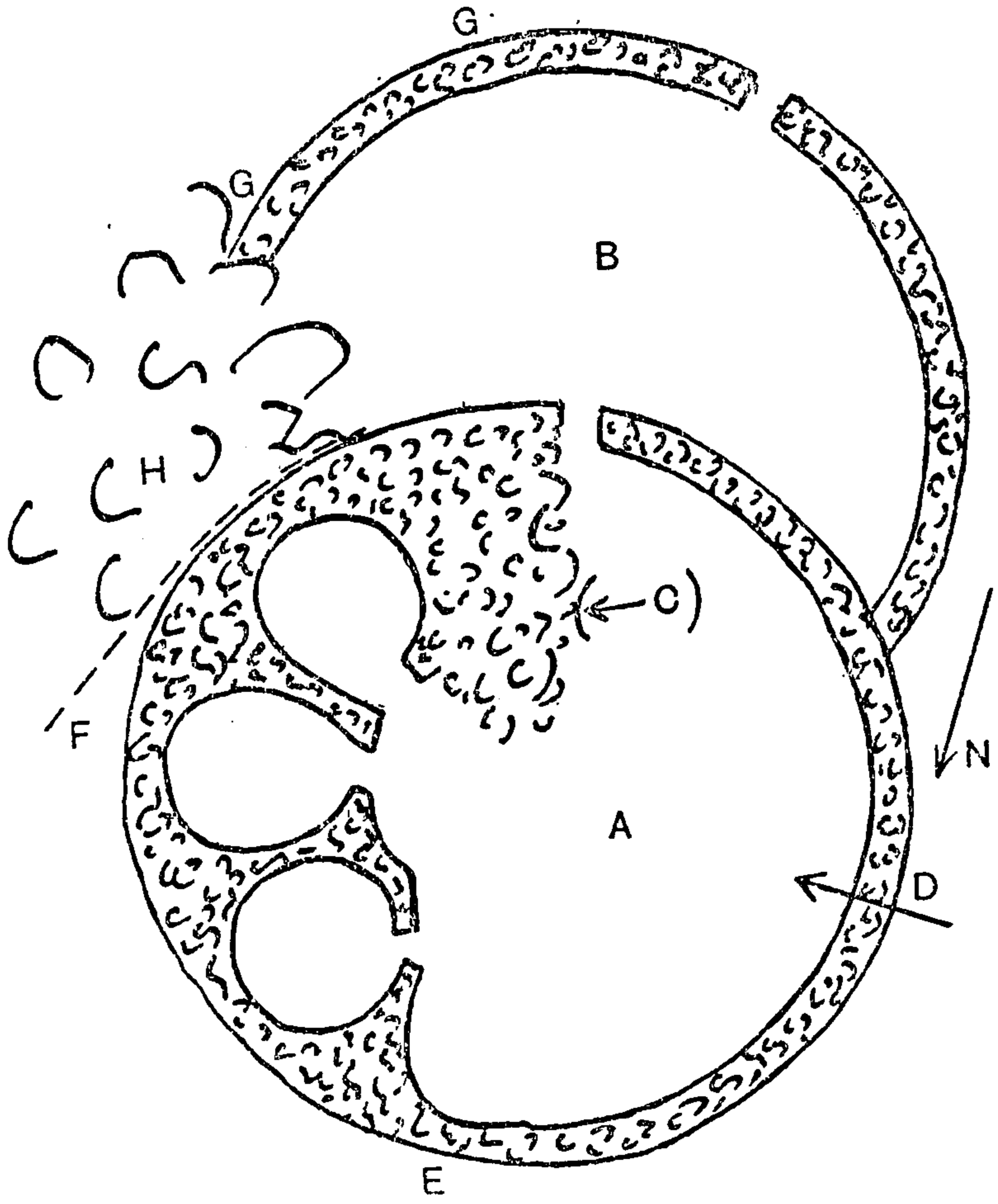


Fig. 3 (from Gebel Sí). Diameter of circles about 11 yards. Rooms about $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ yards. B and eastern half of A stand on crest of small rocky hill. Western half of A is on down gradient. Walls about $2\frac{1}{2}$—3 feet high except on western half of A where they were probably about 5 feet. B contained no rooms. C is a raised platform of same height as walls. D, possible position of entrance. D—E, wall completely ruined. F, possibly a path. GG, sheer drop down hillside. H, boulders.

end of Gebel Marra, near the great mountain lake of Deríba; but the following extract from a report made and kindly lent to me in 1918 by Captain H. F. C. Hobbs of the West Yorkshire Regiment, who, with Mr J. A. Gillan of the Sudan Civil Service, has the distinction of being the first white man to visit the latter portion of the range, suggests that some at least of the FŪR still take some care in the building of their huts and the management of their crops and,

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villages are very much better and more strongly built than any others I have yet seen in Northern or Southern Darfur, and are in striking contrast to the miserable ill-built hovels of the Beni Helba Baggara Arabs who inhabit the plain to the south-west of the mountain....The Jebel Fur...are distinctly in advance of the other tribes of Darfur as builders and cultivators....

The burial-places of the old inhabitants are frequently met with. They are oval circumferences of random stone slabs stuck up on end and, in Dár Abo Díma, were spoken of as the work of "Abu Um Gonán," a term which must be the same as the "Abu Gonaan" (or Kona'án) who are fabled to have once lived in the northern "NŪBA" hills of Kordofán, and whose name again may be connected with Kana'án, *i.e.* Canaan, son of Ham, the traditional progenitor of pagan tribes[1].

The system adopted in the FŪR villages for storing grain is distinctive from that in Kordofán or the east to the best of my knowledge. It is as follows: A number of poles with short forks are put in the ground so as to form a rough square. The fork is at the lower end and remains a foot or so above ground. In the forks other poles rest horizontally, and brushwood and matting are laid from polé to pole to form a bed. The heads of corn, when cut, are heaped on this bed and are contained by long, broad sheets of matting (*sherḳánía*, *pl. sheráḳna*) which are stretched all round the uprights and bound to them, thus forming an enclosure. The matting is made of *nál* grass worked in a criss-cross pattern. The object of having the corn-store thus raised above the ground is to avoid the ravages of the white ants.

For the storage of grain inside the house the Fūr use the *Suayba*, a large cylindrical vessel formed of cow-dung and mud, some four feet high and two and a half in diameter. For water or *merissa* they employ the common circular *burma* of burnt clay, usually with two or three tiny ornamental false handles placed at the angle formed by the belly and the neck of the vessel. The *burmas* are made locally and in the same manner as in northern Kordofán, namely, by placing a lump of clay on a mat and driving the fist downwards into the middle of it and then working outwards.

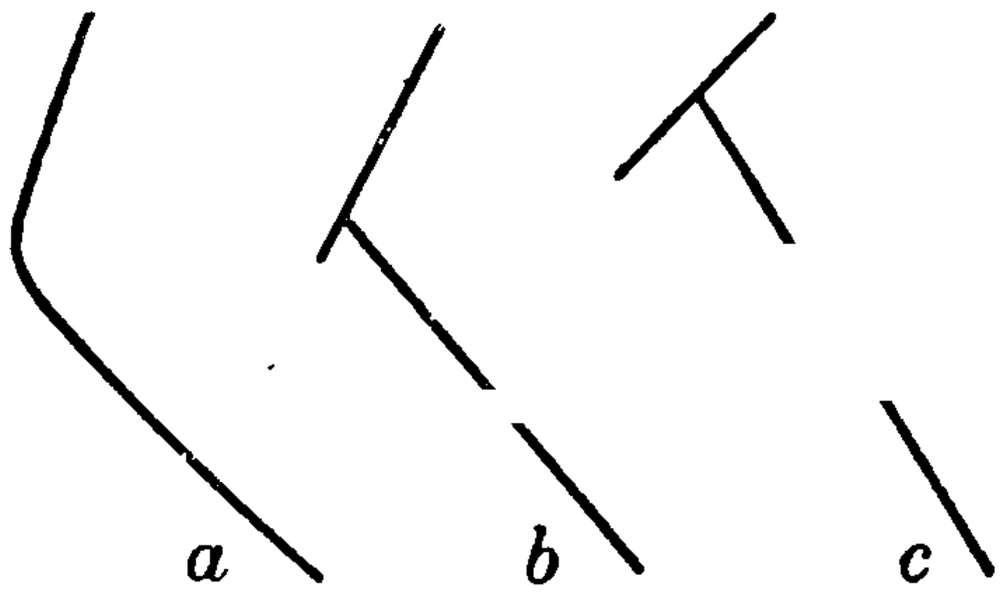
The only art in which the FŪR shew any particular proficiency is that of basket-work. The neatly made baskets of coarse strong plaited grass, dyed in various colours and resembling an ordinary waste-paper basket in shape, with their large, flat, slightly convex lids worked in every conceivable fantastic coloured design of line

[1] See MacMichael, *Tribes*..., pp. 88, 241. The jungle-fowl is also known in Kordofán as "gidád Abu Kona'án."

and cube, which are often seen for sale in the Omdurman bazaars, are essentially a Dárfūr manufacture.

For measuring grain, or carrying it in smaller quantities, the FŪR make an uncoloured *rayka* of basket-work. This is in shape a wide circular bowl about a foot high and one and a half in diameter at the top. The latitudinal bands are formed of strips of bark of *laót* (*Acacia nubica*), etc., an inch broad and immediately contiguous. Horizontally intersecting these, in and out, are strips of cane, immediately contiguous. The intersection is the simplest possible. The rim is formed of a larger strip of cane, and the base of two concentric rings of stout cane. The interior is plastered with cow-dung to prevent leakage.

The FŪR usually carry a quiver full of barbed throwing-spears and a knife, but their most distinctive weapon is the *safaróg* (*pl.* *safárig*), or throwing-stick, shaped as (*a*) or (*b*), or, even less commonly, as (*c*), and cut from the roots of the *inderáb* or *kitr* bush. Practically every FŪR carries one of these, and they are very expert in their use. They chiefly employ them for killing hares and guinea-fowl, but, when occasion arises, for injuring the legs of the horses ridden by their foes.




The Nilotic negro does not use the throwing-stick, but the negroes who invaded Nūbia and Upper Egypt under the eighteenth dynasty did, and so also did the BEGA[1].

XXIII In person the FŪR of Marra, Sí and the west are small and skinny with thin legs, small bones and egg-shaped heads. All have a peculiarly rancid smell[2]. The young men wear bracelets of brass and hang a few beads and cowries in their hair—more especially the TEBELLA—but on reaching years of discretion they give up these vanities.

Their character is marked by stupidity and low cunning in combination. They are suspicious and deceitful and they instinctively lie about even the most trivial subject rather than speak a word of the truth. They are very ignorant and credulous of the wildest rumours, hot-tempered, idle and drunken; but they are easily amused and have a distinct sense of the ludicrous. Their one ambition in life is to acquire more cattle.

[1] "In numerous XVIII dynasty paintings Negroes are represented with bows and arrows and throwing sticks (boomerangs)." Seligman, Address to the Anthrop. Section...Manchester, *B. A. Rep.* 1915, pp. 10, 12.

[2] This was noticed also by Dr Felkin (see Bibliography).

As one goes farther away from the mountains, and particularly in the east, where the population is more crossed with Arab and other strains, an obvious improvement is noticeable in physique and mental and ethical standards alike. Among the KUNGÁRA it is not uncommon to see an extremely well-built man of massive proportions, dark in complexion—even to coal-black—but with the coarse negro features reduced to some kind of regularity.

XXIV Until recent years the Sultan of Dárfūr used to appear with the lower half of his face veiled, and it was counted the height of offensiveness for any of his subjects, even his chief men, to look at him straight in the face. One addressed him only with bowed head and eyes abased, half kneeling and half sitting on the ground. The Sultan of MAṢÁLÍṬ still appears in public with face veiled to the eyes[1]. Here we probably have a tradition of royalty derived from the Berber element in the western states[2]; but, of course, the veiling custom is most familiar to the world in the case of the picturesque "veiled" ("*mulaththamín*") TUWÁREK of the northern deserts—known in Dárfūr, where there is a large colony of them close to el Fásher, as "KENÍN"—who are largely Berber.

Similarly, the seven-days' sequestration of a newly chosen king, mentioned by Barth[3] as practised by the (Berber) MUNIYOMA, closely corresponds to the similar custom related by el Tūnisi[4] of the Sultans of Dárfūr.

XXV Now the above disjointed items of information about the various people with whom the more distinctively Arab stock commingled in Dárfūr obviously form too slender a foundation to support any conclusions of scientific finality, but they do give certain indications of a general nature as to the directions from which came the ethnic influences that have been at work in the country.

Apart from the Arab strain it seems that the two main ethnic elements in Dárfūr are the Negro (Bantu ?) and the Hamitic. The former is the most ancient and survives more strongly in the south and in the range of Gebel Marra. The latter is partly due to the continuous pressure exerted by the Arabs in north Africa upon the Berber races, compelling them to move southwards and encroach upon the lands of the darker races, a process which began at least as early as the seventh century A.D. and affected every state from the Atlantic to the Nile in a greater or less degree.

[1] March, 1918, was the date I met him.

[2] See, *e.g.* Browne, p. 211, and cp. frontispiece to Denham, Clapperton and Oudney's *Travels*. For the ancient custom of covering the mouth see Barth, II, 270. It also appears in Abyssinia (see Bent, p. 39).

[3] II, 271.

[4] *Voy. au Darf.* p. 160.

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## NOTE ON CERTAIN EGYPTIAN OR HAMITIC SURVIVALS IN DÁRFŪR

XXVI Sir H. Johnston[1] speaks of "a wave of late Egyptian culture" being borne "across the Sudan along the southern fringe of the Sahara Desert to the Upper Niger." This he dates "immediately prior to the Christian era." At Agades arose the Songhay people who "adopted accidentally or by influence an imitation of ancient Egyptian architecture in clay and wood instead of stone...." After subduing the MANDINGO of Melle they made their headquarters for a time "the city of Jenne at the confluence of the Niger and the Bani. From Jenne was radiated over all the Western Sudan an apparent Egyptian influence in architectural forms, in boat-building, and other arts."

Professor Seligman, however, objects to the stress laid on Egypt: he would prefer to speak of the "Hamitic influence (of which the Egyptian civilization was only a special development) which was leavening dark Africa, perhaps for thousands of years before Egypt herself emerged into the light of history[2]."

In this connection three facts may be cited. El Tūnisi relates as follows[3]:

> Autre exemple de bizarrerie....Autrefois, on ne permettait pas au Sultan du Ouadây de boire du lait frais. "Car," disaient les Ouadayens, "si le sultan boit du lait, qu'est-ce que boiront les sujets?" Or il advint qu'un Sultan se procura une vache laitière. On le sut dans le public; on s'ameuta, et on alla dire au sultan: "tu vas te défaire de ta vache, nous promettre de ne plus boire de lait, ou bien nous te tuons." Il fallut obéir. Aujourd'hui cette coutume est abolie, et les sultans boivent du lait comme tout le monde.

Superstitions concerning milk are prevalent among the tribes of the eastern Sudan and East Africa and the Nilotic negroes, being characteristic of a Hamitic stock or culture[4]. Whether the one quoted necessarily reached Wadái from the Nile across Dárfūr or whether it may have come in from the north with other Libyo-Berber influences

[1] *Loc. cit.* p. 387.

[2] *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 420. See also "Address to the Anthrop. Section of the Brit. Assoc. for the Advancement of Science," 1915. Barth thought he found various linguistic analogies between Tibbu and ancient Egyptian, and the "Táríkh el Khamís" (*q.v. supra*, p. 72) appears to derive the Tibbu from Egypt (see Carbou, II, 116), but M. René Basset notes (Carbou, I, 117) the matter is extremely doubtful and "Si le toubou est apparenté à l'égyptien, il l'est par conséquent au berbère qui appartient au groupe chamitique, appelé aussi proto-sémitique."

[3] *Voy. au Ouadây*, p. 393.

[4] Seligman, *loc. cit.* p. 654, and in *Man*, March 1915 (*re* the Bisháríin). Cp. Browne, p. 466, for one striking instance.

is a question to be decided by experts, but we have lately seen that certain milk-superstitions did exist in Dárfūr.

The second fact to which I would draw attention is as follows: Browne states that in Dárfūr at the beginning of the rainy season the king accompanied by the lesser chieftains (*meleks*) goes out into the fields while the people are sowing and makes several holes with his own hand[1]. The same custom is said to apply in Bornu, etc. It has its counterpart (as Browne notes) in ancient Egypt.

"*The great mace-head of Hierakonpolis, dating back some six or seven thousand years...shews his majesty inaugurating irrigation works with a hoe of the pattern still in use.*"[2]

"*The central figure is the king standing with a hoe in both hands. Before him is a man holding a basket for the earth, and beyond that there has been another man holding a bunch of ears of corn.*"[3]

The same practice used to obtain among the FUNG. Bruce relates that the name "Bádi," which he considered generic to the FUNG kings, meant "the peasant," and was given because of the custom whereby the king always ploughed and sowed with his own hand a plot of land once in his reign[4].

Thirdly, when 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi conquered Egypt he found and abolished the annual rite of sacrificing a virgin to ensure the rise of the Nile[5].

That the same custom lingered in Bornu down to modern times appears from the story which negro pilgrims told Burckhardt in 1816–1817 at Cairo: they related that "at the time of the inundation, which is regular there as in Egypt, it [*s.c.* the river Tsad which 'flows through Bornou at a short distance from the capital of Birney'] flows with great impetuosity. A female slave richly dressed is on this solemn occasion thrown into the stream by order of the king[6]."

[1] Browne, pp. 283–284. El Tūnisi confirms the truth of Browne's account as regards Dárfūr. "Le sultan possède, en propriété spéciale, des terres labourables. ...A l'époque des semailles...il sort en grande pompe, escorté de plus de cent jeunes femmes....Le prince, une fois arrivé en pleine campagne, descend de cheval, prend différentes graines, et, à mesure qu'un esclave pioche la terre, il les jette et les sème. C'est la première semence qui tombe sur le sol, dans la contrée où est alors le sultan...." (*Voy. au Darfour*, p. 169.)

[2] Seligman, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* XLIII, 1913, p. 667.

[3] Flinders Petrie, *Hierakonpolis*, I, 9–10, quoted by Seligman, *loc. cit.* Cp. Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality* (Ingersoll Lecture, 1911), § VII.

[4] Bruce, IV, 469 (Bk. VII, Ch. IX). According to MS. "D 7" there were six Fung kings called Bádi.

[5] Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, p. 437.

[6] Burckhardt, *Nubia*, App. II, p. 489; and cp. Hornemann's *Travels*, p. 103.

# APPENDIX I

## *A tabular comparison of the* BERTI *and* ZAGHÁWA *dialects*

| ENGLISH | BERTI | ZAGHÁWA |
|---|---|---|
| mouth | ă | á |
| boy | merr | burr |
| water | mí | bí |
| cow | firr | hirri |
| hand | may | bá |
| arm | ăbi | t[d]ebbir |
| horse | burto | hirrté |
| camel | derri | dí |
| donkey | dí | áddé |
| dog | murr | birri |
| meat | ní | enni |
| star | már | bar |
| rainy season | gí | gé |
| hut | bé | bĕ·a [be'] |
| name | tirr | ter [tirri] |
| road | gŭndur | garrdi |
| white | tiddi | terri |
| brother | barra | kerrbári |
| one | sang | lakoi |
| two | su | swé (shwé) |
| three | sóti | wé |
| four | sitti | ishté |
| five | pí | hūé |
| six | dūti | deshté |
| seven | tayti | dishté (dishtī) |
| eight | kūzi | wotté (otté) |
| nine | kiddăsi | distī (dishtī) |
| ten | mussang | timm (timmi) |
| a hundred | ommăr | — |

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# APPENDIX 3

*A tabular comparison of the dialect of the Fūr with those of certain of the "Fertít" Tribes*

| English | Fūr | Digga (locality: Baḥr el Ghazál, south of the Kára) | Banda (locality: Baḥr el Ghazál, S.E. of the Digga) | Sára (locality: west of Baḥr el Ghazál in French sphere) | Kára (locality: beyond S.W. border of Dárfūr; chiefly in French sphere) | Gŭla (locality: south of Sula on Baḥr Mámūn; west of the Kára) | Mundu (locality: west of Regáf, on Baḥr el Gebel) | Abu Keia (locality: west of Regáf, on Baḥr el Gebel) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | dík | sá | bári | kerri | kaala | kalla | bíri | alló |
| two | ow | uwé | bish | go | vandrr | dro | beshu | irri |
| three | ís | bietta | vutta | [illegible]da, *or* [illegible]tta | witta | mitta | batta | nná |
| four | ung·al | biăma | vanna | so | so | so·o | bala | su |
| five | ós | bishé | minto | mí | mí | mí | burufi | njí |
| six | [illegible] [illegible]k, *or* "s[illegible] [illegible]c) | batissa | minto pabari | mikka, *or* [illegible]ha | nikka | minjé | maidía | jikezia |
| seven | sábi (*from Arabic*) | batūwé | minto bish | silli, *or* shilli | songililei witta | ? | larizzi | jileili |
| eight | tamáni (*from Arabic*) | batibietta | [illegible]nto [illegible] [illegible]ta | murta | songililei vandrr | ? | bádzenna | jilanna |
| nine | tisa (*from Arabic*) | batibiemma | [illegible]nto pavanna | doso | tisa (*from A[illegible]bic*) | ? | menawá | jilissu |
| ten | [illegible]ié | babé | murrfo | dokămi | o·dg | o·dg | njokwá | mudri |
| eleven | [illegible]k | butisindesá | [illegible]fo pabari | ? | do·og kósakaal | o·dg unzíkala | njokwá dapírbíri | m[illegible]o |
| twelve | [illegible]w | butisindiuwé | [illegible]fo pabish | ? | o·dg kósavandrr | do·og unzídro | njokwá dapírbeshu | mudridileiri |
| twenty | "ishrín" (*Arabic*) | bórūwé | zózu | ? | o·dg vandrr | ? | tikkibíri | nyeritá |
| a hundred | firri, *or* pirri | aburibishé | "mia" (*Arabic*) | ? | "mia" (*Arabic*) | ? | [illegible]ŭzi | nyerinji |
| cow | ū, *plur.* kū | byé' | madó | mang | wísha | báli | íti | itti |
| horse | murta | murta | berta | sinda | [illegible]tta | sūnda | "gawád" (*Arabic*) | "gawád" (*Arabic*) |
| hyaena | tóro, *pl.* tórunga | zăgi | bongo | nyingo | jóng | mula | lapagu | labaggu |
| milk | borra | wía | gongo | bá | sūsū | sí | lay' | lay' |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | íno | [illegible] | sumba | gá | didda | andi | sok | áwa |
| stars | [illegible], *sing.* ori | [illegible] | mberpé | ndí | kókoin | [illegible] | kóparra | ibibía |
| [illegible] | abba | oba | abba | bóbi | va | ? | [illegible] | tatta |
| mother | [illegible] | [illegible] | ími | kom | ma | ? | [illegible] | babba |
| head | tabu | [illegible] | [illegible] | doi | ro | dro | unjū | drí |
| [illegible] | ūtto | umbáko | amma | tai | ta | tara | [illegible] | umŭti |
| [illegible] | dowra | [illegible] | kó | lár | minya | [illegible] | sé | eddi |
| red | [illegible] | záli | órun | kás | kásha | kada | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | dikko | [illegible] | bubúna | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | níni |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | pushíhé | mbimpi | [illegible] | munderáfa | nyandraha | [illegible] | vendala |
| boy | kwé | [illegible] | awaia | gol | ung·u | jellungába | gejji | dienva |
| girl | kweinyu | dégudé | [illegible] | denni | [illegible] | jell [illegible] | madda | dinekwa |
| I | ká | mi | buba | ma | gigi | máki | derra | ma |
| [illegible] | ĭn | mo | [illegible] | ina | í | dá | [illegible] | mi |
| corn | káng | vundé | jŭrŭ | ntai | kamdu | ntai | nto | adriggu |
| fire | uttu | vei' | óó | furr, *or* purr | [illegible] | hálu | óa | leshi |
| rain | kuee | [illegible] | ūvĭro | dí | waana | keddi | agga | ózé |
| hand | donga, *dual* [illegible] | berré | [illegible] | yell | song·o | zí | jejji | drĭ |
| [illegible] | [illegible], *or* giella | mūyi | negám | dei | íma | yei | noikinn | náni |
| go! | gŏ | [illegible] | gŏ | ow | abé | abi | goggo | níni |
| Do [illegible] go! | aggóba | [illegible] | sumbo | ahowăli | ábó | aboko | mbosella | mínako |
| sun | [illegible] | ūrū | lolo | hát | ka [illegible] | kádro | rrá | ittu |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | diwi | yippi | [illegible] | lífi | leihi | fé | parra |
| man | duodé, *or* dūo, *plur.* kwarkeia | [illegible] | koshé | gow | ngába | ngába | komoko | ago |
| woman | yankwé, *plur.* [illegible] | [illegible] | yashé | genné | laia | momo | warisa | oko |
| tree | [illegible], *plur.* [illegible] | ngwa | yoiyo | kágo, *or* khágo | kaaga | kagga | ro | fé |
| Fūr | Fūrakang, *sing.* Fūrdongo | Ūra (*lit.* "slaves") | Poro | Dum | Dála | Láli | ? | ? |
| lion | [illegible], *or* [illegible] (*plur.* mūrunga) | anyo | bamara | [illegible] | kévi | tébi | wó | appé |
| dog | assa | ango | yavoro | bisi | wísi | bissi | boro | oké |

# APPENDIX 4

## *A short Vocabulary of the Maṣálíṭ language*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | tío | sister | mūmbé |
| two | barra | brother | mír'mbé |
| three | táng | child (fem.) | kimámbé |
| four | ás | ,, (male) | kimámba |
| five | tóro | ancestor | ūa |
| six | itti | "*wádi*" | mandaldi |
| seven | murri | "*khor*" | idda |
| eight | aiá | "*gebel*" | kóma |
| nine | addé | a stone | ditterá |
| ten | uttu | horse | berré |
| twenty | iddo'mbará | camel | dirri |
| thirty | iddo káng | donkey | léri |
| forty | iddo ás | dog | ingi |
| fifty | iddo tóro | cow | dé |
| a hundred | mia (*Ar.*) | bull | murgi |
| Arabs | Eringé | meat | nyugu |
| Fūr | Furtá | milk | gí |
| Dágu | Beréjé | "*merissa*" | nyunguru |
| corn | assé | salt | ango |
| hair | kíji | I | ama |
| head | kujjo | thou | mam |
| mouth | kanna | he | igi |
| eye | kogo | man | kumba |
| the two eyes | kosimbará | woman | mutcho |
| hand | koro | God | Mūla (*Ar.* ?) |
| leg | joinyo | star | kíé |
| arm | kuru | moon | aia |
| father | bába | sun | ungé |
| mother | da | | |

# APPENDIX 5

## *The Tungur-Fūr of Dár Furnung*

1 A day's journey west-north-west of Kuttum lies the district of Dár Furnung. To the east it is bounded by Berré district, inhabited by KAITINGA (a blend of TUNGUR and ZAGHÁWA) and FŪR, and to the west by Serayf (AWLÁD MÁNA). To the south-west of Furnung is the range of Gebel Si, the home of the still savage KARÁKIRÍT FŪR.

Dár Furnung itself consists of a group of desolate high sun-blackened peaks, with low hills between them intersected by narrow watercourses that flow from springs, and surrounded by cultivable lands where the TUNGUR and FŪR have their villages and semi-nomadic ZAGHÁWA come to graze their flocks. It takes its name from the holy stone of Furnung, at which the headman of the *dár* has to make sacrifice if he would avoid death or disaster[1].

[1] Cp. pp. 100, 101 above for another of these holy stones, in Kerné district west of Gebel Marra. At Furnung it is only the "ḥákim" (the "Sharṭái" of the "Dár") who sacrifices. The villagers and lesser sheikhs do not, but if one of them aspires to be "Sharṭái" he goes privately to the holy rock and throws a stone onto it. If the stone holds, the omen is good; but if it rolls off, the omen is bad for his project.

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Beyond the gorge, to the east, where a few square miles of hillside shelve less steeply, the ground is all ribbed with ancient cultivation "*terrasses*." Now all is overgrown with stunted *kitr* bush and the lines of the stones have been broken by the rains, but at one time all must have been cleared and every foot of ground levelled into successive ledges, each a foot or so above the other.

The main entrance to the fort is from the west, that is, from the side of the settlement, and the great gateway, three and a half yards broad, is flanked by stone walls not less than 12 feet high. Entering here the outer line of the defences one mounts along the broad sloping pathway between the outer and the inner walls to the fort which crowns the peak.

The foundations of the fort, like the outer and inner defensive lines beyond it, are well built of rough unhewn boulders, but the upper stories of the structure, and the inner rooms and dividing walls, are of magnificent red brick, hard as iron, metallic in ring and slightly glazed. The labour involved in bringing the hundreds of thousands of bricks required from the kilns, which lie a mile or more away to the south, must have been enormous, for the intervening ground is inconceivably rough, cut and scarred by ravines and littered deep in jagged rocks. The actual plan of the fort is like nothing but a rabbit warren: galleries run in and out and chamber leads to chamber in bewildering manner. All is partly ruined, but the outlines can easily be traced. Near the centre is a deep square-pit, with lower sides and bottom of rock, and upper sides of brick. Higher up, in fact at the topmost point of all, one enters a small brick room, perhaps a guardroom, and from it descends spirally down steps through a series of doorways, each at right angles to and below the last one, to what appears to be a dungeon in the rocky foundations of the fort. The steps are made of huge burnt bricks $2\frac{1}{2}$ spans long by $1\frac{1}{4}$ broad[1]. The doorways have lintels of wood, long since decayed and crumbling, and small windows open at intervals to the outer air. The entrance to the dungeon itself, if such it be, is just large enough to admit a man, and beyond is the horrible cavity itself, too low for a man to stand in and with a floor space of not more than three square yards. Some 50 yards to the north of the fort and about 20 feet below it stands the Sultan's (?) house, a medium-sized oblong building of red brick. The only remarkable feature of it was the ingenious manner in which the inside surface of the walls had been plastered with red earth of the exact kind used for making the bricks and then subjected to intense heat by the lighting of enormous fires inside the room, so that the plaster itself had become hard brick.

Below the fort and the Sultan's house, about 200 yards to the south-west, stands the mosque, a square building of thick walls, with *miḥráb* to the east and four interior pillars. To the casual eye there was nothing to distinguish the architecture from that of the red brick and stone mosques

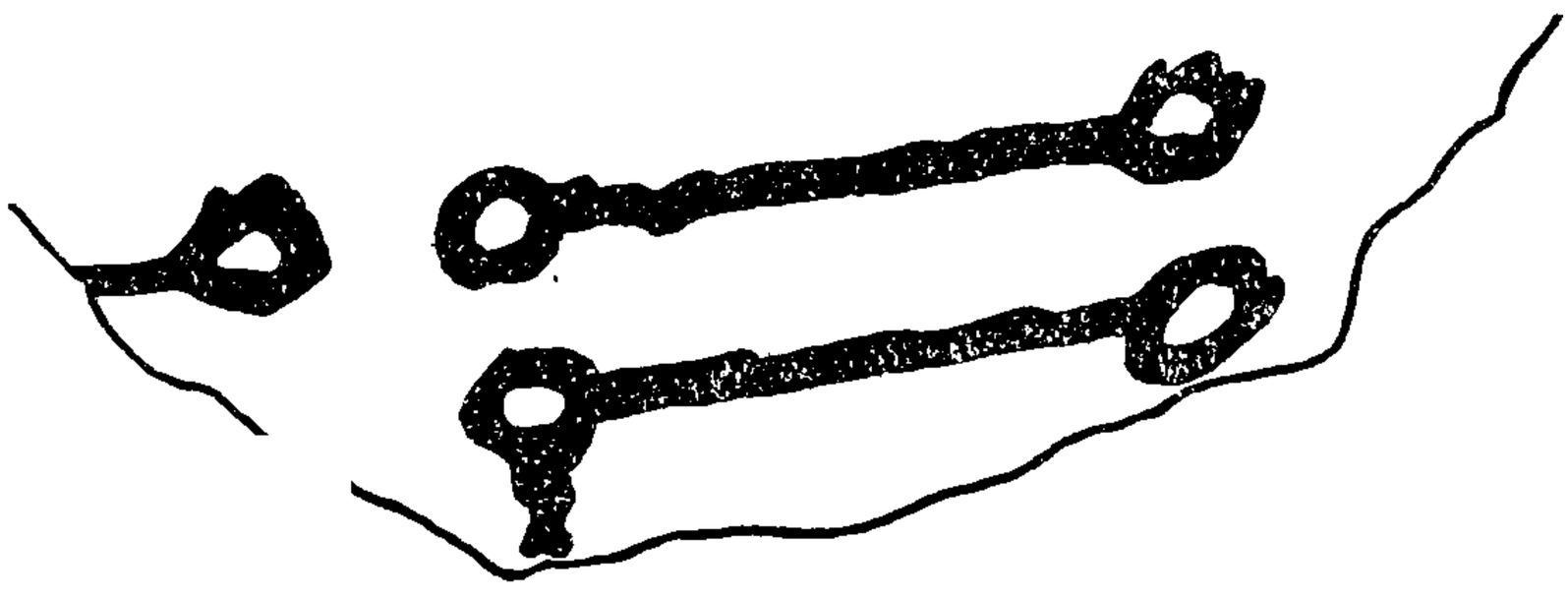
[1] These large bricks are also found here and there in the ruins of the larger houses and the fort and mosque—they have also been noticed near Fóga in western Kordofán on Gebel Zankūr, a site lying on the ancient highroad from Nūbia to Dárfūr—but the vast majority of the bricks used in all the buildings were of the usual size and shape.

of Gáma'i Kurro, on the Wádi Baré between Kebkebía and Kulkul, and of Turra in Gebel Marra. But the making of the *miḥráb* had evidently given some trouble, for, though the face of the arch had been negotiated successfully, the concave back had been formed by building up a straight surface of large bricks and then hewing them into concavity as one would hollow out a trough. The houses of the common folk were of stone in their lower courses, and presumably roofs of straw were superimposed. Some of them were unusually large; the diameter of one close to the mosque —the Imám's probably—was eleven yards.

IV No implements or ornaments were found, but I had not the time or the means to dig for them. Broken shards were not infrequent. The pottery was of three kinds. The common *burmas* were obviously of the same shape and made in the same way, *i.e.* kneaded outwards on a mat, as the ordinary *burma* of Dárfūr and Kordofán, with wide mouth, short neck and round belly. The inside and outside surfaces are brick-red and the intervening material burnt black. In texture they are very hard and thicker than the usual—a very necessary precaution when one considers the rough treatment they were likely to receive in being carried some 200 feet up a sheer slope, littered with rocks, from the stream below.

There were also larger receptacles, presumably for storing liquid in the houses, and these were of coarser and even harder fibre almost indistinguishable from brick, with quite large pebbles embedded in them, generally an inch or more thick.

The third kind of pottery was of the shape of the present-day *dulang*, with long graceful neck (slightly bulbous in the middle) and red, glazed surface. On the only large fragment I picked up were very roughly incised markings, on the belly of the jar, which in form were similar to the brand still used by the FELLA (or FELLANGA) section of the TUNGUR-FŪR. The markings are thus:



The brand is thus[1]:

V At the present day there are no villages in the Furnung hills: all are

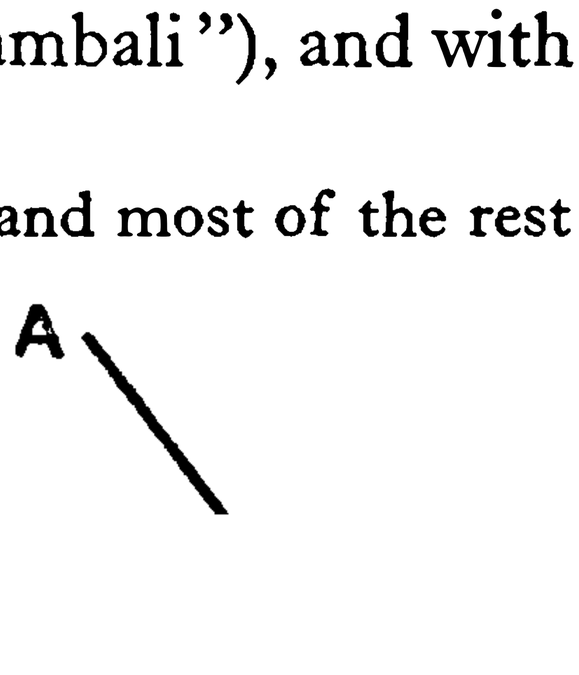
[1] This Tungur brand bears obvious resemblances to the "caractères à lunettes" pictured by Doutté (*q.v.* p. 158). These latter, as used by the Muhammadans of North Africa, are said to be derived from Jewish magic, and may represent eyes, to symbolize Providence and counteract the evil eye. The brand may have been brought by the Tungur to Dárfūr from Nūbia, but, in the lack of any evidence of the use of "caractères à lunettes" in Nūbia, it is more probable that they borrowed them at a subsequent date from the Tibbu tribes living to the north of Dárfūr, whose brands are not dissimilar.

outside, where the grazing and cultivable soil are better, but within reach of the water supply[1].

The villagers themselves are a blend of TUNGUR and FŪR, black but with less distinctively negroid features than the FŪR of Marra and Sí. They talk among themselves in the FŪR dialect but all seem to know Arabic as well. Such of them as I questioned called themselves TUNGUR, no doubt because of the aristocratic associations of the name, and preserved a tradition that they came originally from Dongola, but they admitted that many of their fellow-villagers were FŪR and that the two races had intermarried freely and on no particular system for generations. They regarded the TUNGUR as being the real owners of the *dár*. Of the criterion whereby they decided whether a child of mixed origin was TUNGUR or FŪR I could extract no coherent account. There was some talk of the "mother's mother" ("*ḥabóba*"), but when pressed for details they always fell back on the normal Muhammadan Arab custom obtaining in such matters. Their *Sharṭái*, Ḥasan Kanjók, they called a Tunguráwi, but when I met him some days later and questioned him in the presence of the FŪR *Sharṭái* of Sí and the Tunguráwi *Sharṭái* of Kuttum, he evidently felt himself in a quandary, and the other two fidgetted uneasily: if he called himself a Tunguráwi he risked a smile at his pretentiousness and a sneer at his pusillanimity, so he hesitated and tried "TUNGUR-FŪR" and, when pressed, decided for "FŪR." As a matter of fact, "TUNGUR-FŪR" is the term which would best describe the people of Furnung. They fall into three groups, FELLA (FELLANGA), SAMBELLA (SAMBELLANGA) and DUMŪA. All of these the TUNGUR proper and the FŪR proper alike regard as FŪR, they themselves seem to regard the FELLA as TUNGUR rather than FŪR, and the SAMBELLA as FŪR rather than TUNGUR.

The name of the SAMBELLA would appear almost certainly to be connected in some way with that of the SAMBELANGÉ section of DÁGU, who consider it to be a corruption of "SHENÁBLA" (*sing.* "Shambali"), and with that of the Sambangáto section of Berti[2].

[1] The Tungur round Furnung and Kuttum, like the Berti and most of the rest of the population who cultivate on soft sand in eastern Dárfūr, use for hoeing the ground the "gilmoia" (or "nagára" as the Tungur call it, and one notes the word is formed from the same root as "Tungur"). This implement is of rough local wood and shaped as shewn. The bend at *B* is a natural one. It is rather larger than a right angle. The length from *A* to *B* is about 27 inches, from *B* to *C* about 18. The head is of hammered iron and shaped with slightly concave surface as shewn. For hoeing the implement is held with the two hands at *A* and used from above downwards and inwards between the legs. For making holes into which to drop the seed it is also held in both hands, but the cultivator, as he walks along, at each step makes with it a short jab into the ground on his left side.




*ABC*, wooden shaft.
*C*, iron head.

For hoeing in a garden on one's knees a much shorter instrument of the same shape but with a very much shorter shaft (*B* to *C* being only an inch or two) is used.

[2] See paras. VIII and VI of this chapter. Compare too the Dágu brands with those of the Fella and of the semi-Tungur Kaitinga living among the Zaghára.

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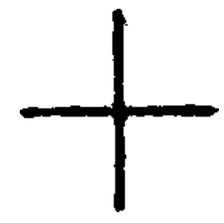
say, FŪR and TUNGUR alike call themselves good Muhammadans—they are escorted to the stone by the sheikh of the village or, in his absence, by one of his family, or, failing both, by the *Imám* of the village mosque, and there they each smear some *diḥn* (or blood, if an animal has been sacrificed) in the form of a cross with their forefingers on the side of the boulder, and each deposits a stone or a piece of green grass from the grove on the top of it. If the couple are too poor to have afforded a sheep or any *diḥn* they make instead the offering of a piece of cow-dung. This done, the couple are led on to the water-spring in the palm-grove and there the presiding priest—if one may call him such—takes a piece of mud from the pool and dabs it on the foreheads of the couple, on the tips of their shoulders (in front), on their middles[1], on the points of their knees and in the small of their backs. He then binds a twist of green grass from the fringe of the pool round each of four ankles and wrists and round both necks, and the ceremony is over.



*Mutatis mutandis* precisely the same is done, it is said, on the occasion of a circumcision or a birth, but in the latter case it is the mother and not the child who is the object of the rite. In the case of a *ḥákim* visiting 'Ayn Sirra he is similarly expected—or rather used to be, for these customs are falling into disuse—to sacrifice a sheep and smear its blood in the form of a cross on the stone, or else to mark it with *diḥn*, and to make his offering of a stone or a piece of green grass, and to go to the spring and be marked as described above, but—the only difference—a twist of grass was placed round his right wrist only.

The FŪR proper (so the "TUNGUR" say) have no part or lot in these rites, and the reason would not seem far to seek. The TUNGUR, one supposes, brought with them from Christian Nūbia the recollection of certain church rites, in particular the Sign of the Cross, and though the FŪR were never converted to Christianity their holy stone was utilized by the new-comers. On the other hand, the TUNGUR in time became Muhammadans, witness the mosque at Ferra, but both they and the FŪR still preserve superstitiously some relics of their ancient faiths.

[1] My informant described this by placing his finger just above his navel, but called it his "heart."

# PART II

# THE PROGRESS OF THE ARAB TRIBES THROUGH EGYPT

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# HISTORY

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a section of KENÁNA, contained among others the BENI MAKHZŪM, the BENI 'ABBÁS, and the BENI OMMAYYA.

The ancient capital of the Ḳaḥṭánite Arabs was at Ṣana'a in the Yemen, but a century or so after the Christian era[1] large numbers of them migrated northwards in consequence, tradition has it, of the bursting of the great dam of Márib, and settled there.

Thus the BENI LAKHM came to found the Monádira dynasty at Ḥíra, near the ancient site of Babylon, and ruled the Arabs of 'Iráḳ as vassals of Persia[2].

The GHASSÁN took up their abode near Damascus and from about 37 to 636 A.D. maintained a control, under the aegis of the Byzantine emperors, over a considerable portion of Syria[3].

The ḲUḌÁ'A group, particularly the GUHAYNA and BELI, settled in the northern half of the Ḥegáz having all but extirpated the ancient tribes of THAMMUD[4] and AD, who had previously lived there and who are likely to have been cognate to the Hamitic tribes inhabiting the opposite African coast[5].

IV Previously to Islam the difference between the Ḳaḥṭánite and Ismá'ílitic tribes had been to some extent accentuated by a difference of language, for the more southernly group spoke Ḥimyaritic; but the tribal movements that took place in Arabia after the Christian era resulted in a spread of Arabic, and with the acceptation of Muhammadanism that language became completely paramount.

We shall see later that the distinction between Ḳaḥṭánite and Ismá'ílitic survives under a rather different guise in the Sudan at the present date.

V Let us now pass to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs in the seventh century.

The profuseness of details we possess concerning the conquest is only equalled by their inconsistency. The chief reason for this is to be found in the fact that the earliest writers of all were Copts, who were chiefly concerned with matters of church history; and the records of the earliest Arab historians, between whom and the Copts there is, in any case, a sad gulf, are either lost or only partially extant in the extracts preserved by later writers[6].

[1] Caussin de Perceval (I, 85–87) puts the bursting of the dam about 120 A.D., but shews that there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the exact date.

[2] Abu el Fidá, pp. 122 *et seq.* and Van Dyck, p. 24.

[3] Abu el Fidá, pp. 128 *et seq.* and Van Dyck, pp. 28–31.

[4] Diodorus's Thamudeni.

[5] Cp. Burton, *Land of Midian*, II, 220 *et seq.*; Sale, *Prel. Disc.*

[6] See Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, pp. vi–xxi. The difficulties are also increased by the inaccessibility of several important MSS. and the general scarcity of adequate translations.

The *Futūḥ el Buldán* of el Baládhuri, written about 868 A.D., is the earliest complete extant record of the conquest from the pen of an Arab, and the author makes it clear that even in the ninth century there was the greatest difference of opinion concerning the subject. As regards the question of the tribal composition of the forces which either achieved the conquest or immigrated in the years immediately following it the record is particularly scanty.

A certain amount of disjointed information is however to be gleaned from various sources[1], and of these the most fruitful is the treatise written at the beginning of the fifteenth century by el Maḳrízi on the subject of the Arab tribes settled in Egypt[2].

By this time many of the tribes who had taken part in the conquest of 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi had become merged in others who had arrived at subsequent periods, or had been borne westwards or southwards on the tide of conquest.

VI GUDHÁM. One notable exception appears to have been the great Ḳaḥṭánite tribe of GUDHÁM, of whom a large portion had in 1400 A.D. been occupying the Eastern Delta ["el Ḥauf"] for some 750 years[3]. They and the BENI LAKHM were the chief rivals of the Ḳaysite tribes in that locality[4].

They were originally a branch of the BENI ṬAI from the Yemen, but they had so completely broken away from the parent stem that they may be considered as entirely separate. In the era preceding Islam they were settled with some BENI LAKHM and branches of ḲUḌÁ'A in the northern Ḥegáz from the Red Sea inland to the territory of the BENI KELB[5].

The tribe was originally divided into two great branches, the BENI ḤISHM and the BENI ḤARAM[6], each with numerous subdivisions. Few of the former, but practically all the latter, seem to have been settled in Egypt[7].

Those in the Ḥauf in the fifteenth century fell under two main

[1] See the chapter which follows.

[2] This treatise, which was found at the time of Napoleon's expedition and taken away from Egypt, has been summarized by Quatremère in his *Mémoires Geographiques...*, and supplemented from other MSS. He calls his précis *Mémoire sur les tribus Arabes établies en Égypte*. Wüstenfeld has also made considerable use of it in his *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien*: he refers to it as *Abhandlung über die in Aegypten eingewanderten arabischen Stämme*.

[3] Maḳrízi's *Mémoire...*, *ap.* Quatremère (II, 195).

[4] *E.g.* in 813 A.D.; see following chapter.

[5] Caussin de Perceval, II, 232.

[6] Wüstenfeld, 5 (for which see Tree 1 at the end of this Part, p. 191). In Quatremère's *Mémoires*, "Ḥaram" (حرم) appears as "Garam" (جرم).

[7] *I.e.* nearly all the sub-tribes of Beni Ḥaram mentioned by Wüstenfeld are included in Maḳrízi's list of tribes in Egypt.

denominations, the ZUBAYB[1] and the BENI KUMAYL[2], and held many towns in fief[3].

It appears from el Maḳrízi's treatise that the subsections known collectively as the ZUBAYB were the BENI ḲURRA[4], the BENI ZAYD, the BENI BU'GA[5], and the BENI SUWAYD[6]. Among the BENI KUMAYL Maḳrízi includes, firstly, the "BENI SA'AD," the descendants, that is, of the five Sa'ads mentioned in Wüstenfeld's tree[7]; secondly, the BENI RÁSHID[8]; thirdly, the HALABÁ[9]; fourthly, the BENI 'UḲBA[10]; fifthly, the AIDH[11]; sixthly, the BENI ZAYD MENÁT.

Of the BENI 'UḲBA some were in Syria, round about Damascus[12] and others round Áíla[13]. The rest were in the Ḥauf.

It seems that some of these latter at some time or another joined the BENI HILÁL[14], and others, we shall see, eventually found their way to northern Kordofán and became the nucleus of the KABÁBÍSH tribe.

Another section of GUDHÁM, closely related to the HALABÁ and the BENI 'UḲBA and represented in Egypt, were the BENI RUDAYNI[15].

Now the term BENI KUMAYL, it seems, properly applied only to all

[1] Wüstenfeld, "Dhobeib"; Quatremère, "Dabib." Wüstenfeld follows a definite system of orthography, which Quatremère does not. In quoting the former I alter the spelling to suit the orthography I have followed throughout.

[2] Quatremère, "Kemil."

[3] See Maḳrízi, *ap.* Quatremère (II, 193, 194).

[4] We shall meet with Beni Ḳurra again as a branch of Beni Hilál settled at Barḳa among the Ketáma Berbers prior to the Beni Hilál invasion of N. Africa. It is useless to speculate as to whether there is any connection between the two or not. Probably there was. (See later, *sub* Beni Hilál, and compare the case of the Beni 'Uḳba.)

[5] Quatremère, "Badjab."

[6] Quatremère, "Souid."

[7] Maḳrízi obviously means that the term Beni Sa'ad had five different connotations according to the particular Sa'ad referred to. It is clear from the tree that some of the five included others. There are some slight discrepancies between Wüstenfeld and Maḳrízi here: *e.g.* the latter (*ap.* Quatremère) speaks of Sa'ad ibn Afṣá instead of Sa'ad ibn Málik ibn Afṣá, and Sa'ad ibn Málik ibn Málik instead of Sa'ad ibn Málik ibn Zayd Menát.

[8] There were three descendants of Suwayd called Ráshid, and "Beni Ráshid" was probably used in the same way as was "Beni Sa'ad."

[9] These Maḳrízi divides into Halabá ibn Suwayd and Halabá ibn Bug'a. If Wüstenfeld is correct the former should be Halabá ibn Málik ibn Suwayd.

[10] Quatremère, "Akabah."

[11] They lived between Cairo and Áíla (Maḳrízi, *ap.* Quatremère, II, 194). Aidh ('Aids) does not occur in Wüstenfeld as a section of Gudhám.

[12] So, too, Ibn Khaldūn, 9–11. They reached as far south as Medína. There are still a few families of them round Muwayla.

[13] Áíla, or 'Aḳabat Áíla, was the mediaeval name. It is the Elath of ancient times, the 'Aḳaba of the present. (See Muir, *Life of Mahomet*, p. lxxviii, and Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 231.)

[14] Maḳrízi (*ap.* Quatremère, II, 201) speaks of the Beni 'Uḳba among the Beni Hilál sections and as living at 'Aṣfūn and Esna. By Leo's time the Beni 'Uḳba had become a main section of Beni Hilál (*q.v.* later).

[15] Quatremère, "Benou Radiny."

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out, for we read of a sanguinary encounter between the THA'ALIBA and the GUDHÁM in Sharḳía Province about 1237 A.D., and this battle was only the culminating point of a long series of attacks and counter-attacks which had been taking place for years. The GUDHÁM, it appears, were partizans of the Governor of Syria and in league with the MEZÁTA and ZENÁTA Berbers of Baḥíra Province, while the THA'ALIBA supported the Sultan of Egypt. After the fight in 1237 a treaty of peace was arranged[1].

An attempt by Saladin in the first year of his reign to reduce the number of ṬAI horsemen caused such resentment that it was abandoned. The cavalry of GUDHÁM, however, were reduced from 7000 to 300[2].

When Mu'izz 'Izz el Dín[3], the first of the Bahrite Mamlūks, supplanted the 'Ayyūbites, many of the Arabs at once rose in resentment against the rule of a barbarian "slave," and in 1251 formed a league of rebellion[4].

The BENI ṬAI took a prominent part in this revolt, and they were joined by some AWLÁD 'UDHRA, who were also Ḳaḥṭánites[5], and many KENÁNA, including such branches of that great tribe as the AWLÁD MUDLAG and the descendants of 'Adi ibn Ka'ab[6]. The rebels were, however, signally defeated, and compelled to scatter into Gharbia Province[7].

The THA'ALIBA branch appear to have been powerful in Morocco in 1360[8]. Several tribes in the Sudan are descended, according to tradition, from them; and some of the BAḲḲÁRA may claim a certain degree of probability for the pretension.

Two other large Ḳaḥṭánite tribes represented at the conquest of Egypt are the BELI and the GUHAYNA. Both were main branches of ḲUḍÁ'A[9], that is descended from Ḥimyar, whereas the ṬAI were descended from Kahlán the brother of Ḥimyar.

[1] Maḳrízi, *Selūk*..., p. 443.

[2] Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* p. 106. Blochet reads "Djoudamīs," but I assume this to be a misreading of the Arabic text, viz. جدميس, or جودميس, instead of جدهميين.

[3] Muir's "Emir Eibek," "Ai-beg," etc.

[4] Quatremère, II, 192

[5] Quatremère, "Adhrah"; Wüstenfeld, "'Odsra." Wüstenfeld gives four "'Odsras," all Ḳaḥṭánite tribes.

[6] From Maḳrízi (*q.v. ap.* Quatremère) one might suppose the Awlád 'Adi and the Kenána and the Mudlag were separate tribes. Reference to Wüstenfeld (*q.v.* N and P) shews they were all of the same great Ismá'ílitic family, though no doubt, as often happens, a certain portion of it had the right *par excellence* to the use of the name Kenána.

[7] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, I, 210.

[8] Ibn Khaldūn, I, 147.

[9] The Ḳuḍá'a succeeded the ancient Gurhumite dynasty in the Ḥegáz and were the guardians of the Ka'aba until they were replaced about 406 A.D. by the Ḳuṣái section of Ḳuraysh (Van Dyck, pp. 34, 35).

VIII **BELI.** The BELI in the Days of Ignorance had been settled in Syria[1], but at the time of the conquest 'Omar ibn el Khaṭṭáb transferred a large number of them to Egypt, and one of the quarters of Fosṭáṭ was set aside for them[2]. That they were one of the most numerous of the tribes that immigrated at this period is shewn by the fact that they were included with the GHÁFIK[3] and one other tribe[4] as "the three tribes of Egypt." 'Amr himself is said to have used this phrase, and of the BELI he added "They have mostly been Companions of the Prophet and their principal quality is that they are excellent cavaliers[5]."

Disputes soon arose in Egypt between them and their kinsfolk the GUHAYNA, but an agreement was finally reached whereby the BELI settled in the country lying between Egypt and the port of 'Aidháb[6] on the Red Sea, that is in the northern part of the BEGA country which was later inhabited by the 'ABÁBDA[7]. In Maḳrízi's day there were numerous branches of them in Egypt[8] and with them were commingled certain smaller communities drawn from the Ismá'ílitic tribes of BENI OMMAYYA, THAḲÍF (a branch of ḲAYS 'AYLÁN), and HUDHAYL. Other BELI were further south in the Akhmim district with the GUHAYNA[9].

At present they are a large tribe on the Arabian coast round Wegh, neighbours of the GUHAYNA, and there are others settled in Egypt round Girga[10].

[1] They had previously been in southern Arabia. See Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 296, and II, 141, etc.

[2] Ibn Duḳmaḳ, *ap*. Butler, p. 279; el Kindi, *ap*. Evetts (*Abu Sálih*...), p. 109. Other quarters were occupied by Beni Baḥr, Beni Salámát, Yashkur (a section of Lakhm), Beni Ḥudhayl ibn Mudraka, Beni Naid, Beni el Azraḳ, etc.

[3] See p. 156, *note*.

[4] Bouriant gives "Maharrah" (محره ?) as its name. There was no such tribe. It is probable that "Muḍr" (مضر) is meant.

[5] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 469. Burton gives an account of them in *Land of Midian*, II, 141 *et seq*.

[6] 'Aidháb lay practically due east from Aswán, near the ancient Berenice: see Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, I, pp. 41 and 43, and Wüstenfeld, *sub* Balí ben 'Amr.

[7] See Maḳrízi, *ap*. Quatremère (II, 202), and Wüstenfeld, I, 106. The boundaries of the Beli were on the north the bridge of Shuhái and on the south the neighbourhood of Kamūla (*q.v*. in Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, I, 209).

[8] *E.g*. B. Hani, B. Harm, B. Sowád, B. Náb, etc. (Maḳrízi, *ap*. Quatremère, II, 202; Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit*.).

[9] Both are included by Maḳrízi among the most powerful tribes of Upper Egypt (see Part II, Chap. 2).

[10] The ruling section in both cases is the Ma'áḳla. It is possible the name survives in the Ma'áḳla of Kordofán and Dárfūr (*q.v*. in Part III). The Sheikh of this branch at Girga gave me the name of ten sections of Beli known to him and living round Wegh and Girga: they were

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ma'áḳla | Mowáhíb | Sahăma | Wahashsha | Ḥilbán |
| Rumūth | Ḥomrán | Beraykát | Ferei'át | Rubidda |

Burton (*loc. cit*. II, 141) specifies twenty-three principal sections.

Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) tells us:

In Upper Egypt from Aswán and beyond it as far as the land of the Nūba and that of Abyssinia are numerous tribes and scattered sections, all of them belonging to GUHAYNA, one of the branches of ḲUḌÁ'A. They filled those parts and conquered the lands of the NŪBA and swarmed over those of Abyssinia and shared their countries with them[7].

Elsewhere[8] the same author, speaking of events that occurred only a decade or two before his own birth and therefore within common recollection, says:

And with the conversion of the Nūbians the payment of tribute ceased[9]. Then the tribes of the GUHAYNA Arabs spread over their country and settled in it and ruled it and filled it with rapine and disorder. At first the kings of the NŪBA attempted to repulse them but they failed: then they won them over by giving them their daughters in marriage[10]. Thus was their kingdom disintegrated, and it passed to certain of the sons of GUHAYNA on account of their mothers [*s.c.* being NŪBA of the blood-royal],

[1] See Wüstenfeld, I, 186–7, *sub* "'Goheina ben Zeid."

[2] The boundary between the two is nearly 50 miles north of Ḥaura (Burton, *loc. cit.* II, 133).

[3] Caussin de Perceval, III, 217.

[4] El Nuwayry, *ap.* Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. Berb.* I, pp. 313 ff. Some 700 Ghatafán and Fezára, etc., accompanied them.

[5] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 569.

[6] *Ibid.* II, 710. Sir C. Wilson mentions them among the semi-nomadic tribes north of Aswán (*loc. cit.* p. 4).

[7] Ed. de Slane, pp. 9–10; ed. ar. vol. 6, p. 5.

[8] Ed. ar. vol. 5, p. 429. This passage, not having been translated by de Slane, has generally escaped notice.

[9] See Part II, Chap. 2. The Arabic is انقطعت الجزية باسلامهم.

[10] ثم ساروا الي مصانعتهم بالصهر.

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At the conquest of Egypt the YASHKUR section of the tribe established themselves upon the hill called after them, the site of Ibn Ṭūlūn's mosque[1]. Many other sections of the tribe also entered Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and settled round Alexandria[2]. In 798 A.D. some 15,000 Andalusian refugees, who had been banished from Spain by the Ommayyad prince el Ḥakam and had landed at Alexandria, entered into a league with the BENI LAKHM; but the two parties soon quarrelled and in 815 the Andalusians succeeded in taking the town[3].

During the same half-century the BENI LAKHM were involved in the civil war that followed the death of Hárūn el Rashid and evinced great turbulence at intervals[4].

In Maḳrízi's time they were very numerous in Upper Egypt and some thirty of their sections are mentioned by name. There were also some of them still settled round Alexandria[5].

Among other Ḳaḥṭánite tribes portions of which are known to have entered Egypt at the time of the conquest or soon after it we may note the BENI HAMDÁN, the large Ḥimyaritic family of DHU AṢBAḤ to which belonged Málik ibn Anas the founder of the Máliki sect[6], and a section of AZD, all of whom settled at Giza[7].

Let us now take the best known of the Ismá'ílitic or 'Adnánite tribes who took part in the invasion of Egypt. The most famous are the KENÁNA and the ḲURAYSH.

XI **KENÁNA and ḲURAYSH.** The eponymous ancestor of the KENÁNA may have lived about 100 A.D.[8] The home of his descendants for successive centuries had been in the Ḥegáz and Tiháma round Mekka[9]. The great sub-tribe of ḲURAYSH became separate from the parent stock some time before the rise of the Prophet and their most famous family, that of ḲUṢÁI, obtained the guardianship of the Ka'aba about 440 A.D.[10]

[1] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, I, 361. There was also a section of Rabí'a called Yashkur (Caussin de Perceval, II, 270).

[2] One of their number was Governor of Egypt in 750 A.D. (Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 49).

[3] Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* II, 493, 494. Alexandria was retaken in 827 and the Andalusians were expelled to Crete: see Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 36, quoting Dozy, II, 68–76, and Quatremère.

[4] Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 38; Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* I, 269.

[5] Maḳrízi, *ap.* Quatremère (II, 197).

[6] Wüstenfeld, 3.

[7] *Vide* Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 606 and 607, and Abu Ṣáliḥ (p. 173). The latter speaks of Giza as built exclusively for the Hamdán: a note by Evetts gives a reference to el Siūti's Ḥusn el Muḥáḍira, I, 81 (Arabic). Cp. Butler, p. 431.

[8] Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* Table VIII.

[9] *Ibid.* I, 193, and Wüstenfeld, I, 268.

[10] Caussin de Perceval, I, 235.

At the beginning of the seventh century both they and the bulk of KENÁNA still worshipped the idol Uzza[1], and the two tribes were accustomed to act in unison in time of war[2].

When the Prophet proclaimed his mission he met with the most serious opposition from his own tribesmen of ḲURAYSH, and it was they and other KENÁNA who signally defeated him in 625 at Ohod and attempted in the following year to besiege him at Medína[3].

In 630 Muḥammad took Mekka and the idol of Uzza was broken to pieces by Khálid ibn Walid[4]. The ḲURAYSH then submitted.

The date and extent of the KENÁNA immigration into Egypt are both uncertain, but in the time of the Patriarch Shenūdi's biographer, at the end of the seventh century, the BENI MUDLAG section were strong enough to besiege Alexandria, sack monasteries, and refuse to pay taxes until an army was sent against them[5].

In 818 A.D., and again thirteen years later, we find the KENÁNA, and in particular the BENI MUDLAG section, which appears to have been more or less independent of the main tribe, and to have been very prone to rebellion, taking part in the Coptic revolts[6].

In 1249, when Louis IX of France besieged Damietta, the garrison consisted of KENÁNA. They fled, however, on the first approach of the enemy, and in consequence the Sultan hung as many of them as he could catch[7].

By the end of the fourteenth century the KENÁNA proper in Egypt were divided into three main divisions, the DAMRA[8], the LAYTH and the FIRÁS: their headquarters were round Sáḳia Kolta.

The ḲURAYSH included the AWLÁD 'ADI IBN KA'AB, the BENI MAKHZŪM, the BENI OMMAYYA, the BENI 'ABBÁS and many others, and may be assumed to have been well represented at the conquest of Egypt since both 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi and el Zubayr ibn el 'Awwám, who reinforced him, and several others of the more famous chieftains were tribesmen of ḲURAYSH[9]. Many more immigrated with succes-

[1] Caussin de Perceval, I, 269. Other Kenána worshipped the Moon and Aldebaran (*ibid.* I, 349, and cp. Van Dyck, p. 38).

[2] *E.g.* in 580 A.D. broke out the famous "Holy Wars" between the Ḳuraysh and other branches of Kenána on the one hand and the Beni Ḥawázin on the other: these lasted for about ten years (Caussin de Perceval, *loc. cit.* I, 296 ff.).

[3] *Ibid.* III, 90.

[4] Caussin de Perceval, III, 241 ff.

[5] MS. Arab 140, pp. 33 ff., *ap.* Quatremère, II, 198. Shenūdi died in 451. His biography was written in 685 or 690 (Butler, *Arab Conquest...*, pp. 87 and 88).

[6] *E.g.* see Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 494, 495, 496.

[7] Maḳrízi, *Selūk*, p. 512; Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 232.

[8] Wüstenfeld (N), "Dhamra"; Quatremère, "Damrah."

[9] Ibn 'Abd el Ḥakam, as quoted by Abu el Maḥásin, gives a list of the "Aṣḥáb" who accompanied 'Amr. Nearly all of these were Ḳurayshites, and of them, again, the majority, including 'Amr and Zubayr, belonged to the Beni Ka'ab section (see Butler, p. 229 *note*).

sive Ommayyad and 'Abbásid governors[1], and we shall see that at least one party of them crossed the Red Sea into the Sudan in the eighth century[2]. Early in the tenth century the branch descended from Ga'afir ibn Abu Ṭálib was expelled from Mekka by the BENI ḤUSAYN and from the country north of it by the BENI ḤARB, and took refuge in Egypt. In Ibn Khaldūn's time they were settled between Aswán and Ḳūṣ with the BENI KANZ, and were known as the Shurafa el Ga'áfira: they were chiefly employed in trade[3]. The GA'ÁFIRA of the present day are their descendants.

In 1400 the ḲURAYSH were mostly settled round Ashmūnayn whence they had ousted the GUHAYNA; others lived side by side with the GUHAYNA in el Siūt and Manfalūṭ districts, or scattered throughout Upper Egypt[4].

Among their chief subdivisions Maḳrízi mentions the BENI GA'AFIR, the BENI ṬALḤA, the BENI ZUBAYR, the BENI SHAYBA, the BENI MAKHZŪM, the BENI OMMAYYA, the BENI ẒAHRA, and the BENI SAHM (the family of 'Amr ibn el 'Áṣi)[5].

XII ḲAYS 'AYLÁN. About 727 A.D. a portion of the great tribe of ḲAYS 'AYLÁN was brought from the Upper Negd of Arabia by the treasurer 'Obaydulla ibn el Ḥabḥáb and settled in the eastern Ḥauf[6]. In that year a Ḳaysite, el Walid ibn Rifa'a el Fahmi, was Governor of Egypt[7].

According to Maḳrízi only a few individuals of the FAHM and 'ADWÁN sections of the tribe had previously been in Egypt, but this statement seems inaccurate, for we know that between 709 and 727, not counting el Walid, there had been no less than three Ḳaysite Governors of Egypt, two of the FAHM and one of the 'ABS section, and these would not have come unattended by numbers of their own tribesmen. El Kindi, too, mentions[8] that at the time of the conquest a part of el Fosṭáṭ was laid out by the tribe of "Kinána ibn 'Amr ibn el Ḳibr ibn Fahm[9]," *i.e.* by a section of ḲAYS. We shall also see that other sections of Ḳays were well represented before 727 A.D.

[1] For the number of these see following chapter, para. VIII.
[2] See following chapter, para. XI.
[3] Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, I, 9–11; ed. ar. vol. 6, pp. 5, 6, Bk. II; cp. Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 710.
[4] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 710.
[5] Quatremère, II, 17.
[6] See Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, I, 229. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 28) gives the date as "about 732." Caussin de Perceval puts the date of the tribe's eponymous ancestor Ḳays at about 68 A.D. There were only four generations between him and 'Adnán (Caussin de Perceval, Vol. I, Table VIII).
[7] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 48.
[8] *El Kheṭáṭ...*, *ap.* Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 110.
[9] See Wüstenfeld, D, where "el Qein" is read for "el Ḳibr."

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They must, too, have largely intermarried with the Berbers in Egypt, for we have the great LUÁTA branch of the latter about 1400 A.D. actually calling themselves descendants of Ḳays 'Aylán[1].

Now some of the main branches of ḲAYS had at an early date become sufficiently independent to be no longer spoken of under that denomination in common parlance.

About 563 A.D., for instance, the bloody "War of el Dáḥis" broke out between the BENI FEZÁRA and the BENI 'ABS, both independent sections of the GHATAFÁN branch[2].

XIII **FEZÁRA.** These FEZÁRA in the Prophet's day were to all intents an independent tribe and lived near Mekka. They and the BENI 'ABS submitted to Islam in 629, but revolted for a time against Abu Bukr in 632[3].

From el Nuwayry[4] we learn that some GHATAFÁN and FEZÁRA took part with GUHAYNA and others in the expedition which 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad made to the west of Egypt in 647.

This would not be compatible with the statement of Maḳrízi that there were no ḲAYS in Egypt till 727 A.D. were it not assumed that the FEZÁRA had become so independent that their Ḳaysite origin had been forgotten[5].

Subsequently, other FEZÁRA accompanied the BENI HILÁL when the latter entered Egypt in the eleventh century, and the remarks of Idrisi in 1154 and of Ibn Sa'id a century later lead one to think that this or an earlier group of FEZÁRA coalesced with the Berbers to such a degree as hardly to be distinguishable from them[6].

Other FEZÁRA remained in Egypt. Maḳrízi speaks of them as settled in Upper Egypt, Ḳaliūb Province and Cairo[7]. Even more of

[1] Quatremère, II, 207.

[2] It lasted till 608 A.D.: see Caussin de Perceval, II, 429 and 499; Abu el Fidá, pp. 140 *et seq.*; Van Dyck, p. 38; and Wüstenfeld, H. The war arose out of a horse-race in which foul play took place.

[3] Caussin de Perceval, III, 218, 345, 362.

[4] *Ap.* Ibn Khaldūn, I, 313–447. See also MSS. A 11, LIV, and D 6, XIII in Part IV, from which it seems some of them may have accompanied 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad's expedition of 641–642.

[5] Caussin de Perceval (Table X B) puts the date of the eponymous ancestor of the Fezára at about 300 A.D. There are three generations between him and Ghatafán the grandson of Ḳays.

[6] Ibn Sa'íd (*q.v. ap.* Ibn Khaldūn, pp. 9–11) says: "Among the descendants of Ghatafán there are at Barḳa the Ḥayb, the Ruáḥa, and the Fezára." Idrísi (p. 290, *ap.* Carette, *Recherches...*, pp. 126 ff.) speaks of the territories of Old Ptolemais as inhabited by Zenáta and Fezára, and alludes to them as Berber tribes arabicized. The Zenáta were of course Berbers. Some Fezára remained in North Africa and preserved their tribal integrity: M. Carette (*loc. cit.* p. 445) mentions them in 1853 as among the tribes in the province of Constantine.

[7] Quatremère, II, 207. There are still Fezára in Egypt (Klippel, p. 9; and cp. Sir C. Wilson, p. 4).

them must have found their way to the Sudan, for, though the name is now seldom heard, it was used previous to the Mahdia almost generically to denote the camel-owning tribes of Kordofán and Dárfūr[1], and a perusal of the *nisbas* that follow will make it clear that a great number of the Sudanese Arabs who do not aspire to call themselves BENI 'ABBÁS claim descent from the FEZÁRA, GHATAFÁN, BENI DHUBIÁN and other tribes of KAYS 'AYLÁN.

XIV **BENI HILÁL** and **BENI SULAYM.** Another great sub-tribe of ḲAYS was the BENI HILÁL. These were, genealogically considered, a section of the ḤAWÁZIN who, like the BENI SULAYM, were a branch of that main division of ḲAYS called the 'IKRIMA[2].

That portion of the 'IKRIMA which was generally known by the name will be met with later in speaking of the AWLÁD KANZ at Aswán[3]. The BENI HILÁL at some fairly early period[4] had become separated from the main tribe in the same way as had the FEZÁRA, and their home at the beginning of the seventh century was with their relatives the BENI SULAYM near Ṭayf in the plains which lie east of the mountains that separate Tihámа from Negd[5]. When the Islamic movement began a number of them moved permanently to Syria.

Now in the tenth century the Fáṭimites having become supreme

[1] Cp., too, el Tūnisi.

[2]

'Aylan
|
Ḳays
|
Khaṣafa
|
'Ikrima
|
Manṣūr
|
Sulaym — Hawázin
Bekr
|
Mu'áwia
|
Ṣa'ṣa'a
|
'Ámir
|
Hilál

(See Wüstenfeld, F, and Caussin de Perceval, Table X A.)

[3] See p. 187.

[4] Caussin de Perceval estimates that Hilál ibn 'Ámir himself lived about 414 A.D. (Table X A).

[5] Ibn Khaldūn, I, 25; Caussin de Perceval, II, 410. Cp. Quatremère, II, 212–215. The Sherárát of Arabia are said to be descended from them: see Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I, 125. Doughty speaks of the B. Hilál as the "fabled ancient heroic Aarab of Nejd": almost any antiquarian remains of unknown origin were locally attributed to them: see *Ar. Des. loc. cit.* and I, 387, and *Wanderings...*, I, 36, 38, 138; II, 211, 259.

along the North African coast-line pushed their conquests eastwards over Egypt and Syria, and by 991 A.D. they had brought under their rule all the country lying between the eastern border of Morocco and the Syrian desert and the Orontes[1].

Almost immediately after the conquest of Syria the Khalifa el 'Azíz Abu Manṣūr (975–996 A.D.) moved the BENI SULAYM and BENI HILÁL to Upper Egypt and settled them there[2]. The chief divisions of the latter were the ATHBEG, the RÍÁḤ, the ZOGHBA, the MA'AḲL, the GISHM and the ḲURRA[3].

About fifty years later, in 1045, when the power of the Fáṭimites was beginning to decline, Mu'izz the chief of the ṢANHÁGA Berbers at Ḳairuán became disaffected, and the Khalifa el Mustanṣir Abu Tamim (1036–1094) eventually sent word, in 1049, to the BENI HILÁL saying "I make you a gift of Maghrab and the kingdom of Mu'izz son of Balkín the Ṣanhági, the runaway slave[4]."

Thus was ushered in the period of permanent Arab domination in that part of North Africa which lies west of Egypt[5]. The tribes of BENI HILÁL, accompanied by other BENI ḲAYS, chiefly BENI SULAYM and FEZÁRA[6], under their leadership[7], swarmed "like locusts" to the north-west in 1051, joined forces with their kinsfolk the BENI ḲURRA who with the aid of the KETÁMA Berbers had already established themselves about forty-six years before at Barḳa, and overran the provinces of Tunis and Tripoli[8]. Mu'izz enlisted the aid of the ZENÁTA Berbers, but his resistance was weak, disaffection was rife, such of his troops as accepted battle were defeated, and the country passed under the denomination of the BENI HILÁL. This great expedition and the desultory warfare with the ZENÁTA that followed it gave rise to the famous cycle of legends in honour of the hero "Abu Zayd el Hiláli" which was rife, at least until lately, all over

[1] Van Dyck, p. 150.

[2] Some of the Beni Sulaym appear also to have entered Egypt some seventy years earlier (109 A.H.) and to have been settled round Balbays, where subsequently they were joined by others of their tribe. These all, at a later date, moved with the main tribe to the Berber country in the west. (Quatremère, II, 212–215.)

[3] Ibn Khaldūn, I, 28 (ed. de Slane), and ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 15, Bk. II.

[4] Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 14.

[5] Previous to this of course the Arabs had made numerous expeditions westwards from Egypt and no doubt some permanent settlements had been made, but there had been no general arabicization.

[6] The bulk of the Fezára were still in Arabia at this time (see Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, I, 118 *note*).

[7] Several of the sub-tribes mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn were, as he particularly points out, and as Wüstenfeld's table shews, not Beni Hilál proper, though they were of kindred origin in nearly every case, *e.g.* Ghatafán (including Fezára) and other branches of Ḳays 'Aylán. (See Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 5, 16, 17.)

[8] Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 128.

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Leo Africanus (c. 1495–1552) gives us details concerning the BENI HILÁL in the north. "The Arabians which inhabit Africa[1]," he says, "are diuided into three parts, one part whereof are called CACHIN[2], the second HILELL, and the third MACHILL[3]." Of the "Hilell," or BENI HILÁL, he tells us that they were a rich powerful tribe with 6000 horsemen dwelling "upon the frontiers of the kingdom of Tremizen and Oran[4]."

The AWLÁD UḲBA section lived on the borders of Meliána in Algeria[5] and were in receipt of allowances from the ruler of Tunis: "they are a rude and wild people, and in very deade estranged from all humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about 1500 horsemen."

XV **RABI'A and BENI KANZ.** One of the largest divisions of the Ismá'ílitic stock in Arabia was that of RABÍ'A, who included the great BUKR and TAGHLIB sections, known together as WÁÍL, the 'ABD EL ḲAYS and many others[6].

The early home of the RABÍ'A was in the Ḥegáz, the Negd highlands and Tiháma, but towards the end of the fifth century A.D. violent internal dissensions broke out and in the sixth most of the tribe migrated, the TAGHLIB from Negd north-westwards to Mesopotamia and the 'ABD EL ḲAYS from Tiháma eastwards with the BUKR to Baḥrayn[7]. Early in the seventh century a great part of the RABÍ'A accepted Christianity[8].

In 854 A.D. occurred an extensive migration of RABÍ'A to Egypt[9]. They dispersed into the various cantons, but chiefly, it would appear, to the Aswán district and northern Nūbia. Thence, in 869, in company with many Ḳaḥṭánite GUHAYNA and others the RABÍ'A poured

[1] Meaning the country west of Egypt and the Nile.

[2] "Cachin," or "Schachin" (Leo, p. 150), are called "Esquequin" by Marmol (p. 76). They were of Ismá'ílitic origin according to both authors.

[3] Leo, trans. Pory, pp. 142 and 150. Both Leo and Marmol Caravajal (c. 1520) derive their information as to the past history of the tribe of Beni Hilál from Ibn el Raḳíḳ (see Leo, ed. Brown, p. 211 *note*). By "Machill" are probably intended the Ma'aḳl (or Ma'áḳla) mentioned (see p. 146) by Ibn Khaldūn as a branch of Beni Hilál and represented at the present among the Beli sub-tribes (see p. 137, *note*). Marmol (p. 76) calls them Mahequil. Both he and Leo attribute to them a Ḥimyaritic origin.

[4] Leo, p. 144.

[5] "The kingdom of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of Melian" (*ibid. loc. cit.*).

[6] Including the 'Anaza, the great tribe which lived at first in Teháma and now between the Euphrates and the Syrian mountains (Caussin de Perceval, 1, 191). There was also a section of Ḳays called Rabí'a.

[7] C. de Perceval, *loc. cit.* The settlements of Bukr were known as Diár Bukr, the modern "Diarbekir." Cp. Wüstenfeld, 1, 378, *sub* "Rabi'a ben Nizâr," quoting Yákūt and el Bekri.

[8] *Ibid.* 1, 348; 11, 392–3.

[9] Quatremère, 11, 84–85, quoting Maḳrízi's treatise on the Arab tribes settled in Egypt. Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 29.

into the BEGA country to the east[1]. The lures to them were the emerald and gold mines: the spur was the oppression of the tax-gatherer on the Nile. In these early days the chief of the Rabi'a was Isḥáḳ ibn Beshr, but before long a split occurred and the BENI YŪNIS section who had taken up their abode at 'Aidháb embroiled themselves with the BENI BESHR[2] section and were forced to retire to the Ḥegáz. Then the BENI BESHR quarrelled among themselves, Isḥáḳ was killed and his cousin Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad "Abu Zayd" succeeded him. "Abu Zayd" had lived at Balbays, but, on being chosen to lead the tribe, he took up his headquarters at Aswán.

Meanwhile considerable cordiality had arisen between the RABÍ'A and the BEGA in the east and also between the other RABÍ'A and the Nūbians on the Nile.

The BEGA chieftains gave their daughters to the RABÍ'A in marriage and helped them to eject from the islands of the Red Sea the other Arabs who had settled there earlier. As a result the BEGA, who had been distinctly inferior in strength to the Nūbians, became in alliance with the RABÍ'A more than a match for both the riverain tribes and such Ḳaḥṭánite Arabs as had succeeded in establishing themselves in the eastern deserts. By 943–4, Mas'ūdi relates[3], Bashir ibn Marwán ibn Isḥáḳ (or "Abu Marwán Bishr") of the BENI RABÍ'A had under his sheikhship 3000 tribesmen of Rabi'a and MUḌR and the Yemen and 30,000 BEGA warriors. These latter were all ḤADÁREB, dwellers on the coast and converts to Islam.

The RABÍ'A who had remained round Aswán[4] and never moved eastwards similarly imposed their influence on the natives and founded a modified Arab aristocracy ruling by consent over a less virile, though still unsubjected, population of autochthons. About 1020, or rather earlier, their chief, Abu Mukarram, son and successor of Abu 'Abdulla Muḥammad "Abu Zayd," was invested by the Fáṭimite Khalifa Ḥákim with the hereditary title of Kanz el Dowla as a reward for having defeated and taken prisoner (in 1006) the rebel Abu Raḳwa[5]. By the end of the next century, and probably sooner, the

[1] See Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 569 and 575. The Rabí'a had been employed in Nūbia on a punitive expedition (see p. 166).

[2] Possibly the name Bisháríń is connected with the name of this section.

[3] See Mas'ūdi, III, 33. Bouriant (II, 570) hopelessly mistranslates the last part of Maḳrízi's quotation from Mas'ūdi. The Arabic is as follows:

ابو مروان بشر بن اسحق و هو من ربيعة يركب في ثلاثة الف من ربيعة واخلافها من مضر واليمن etc.

[4] See Mas'ūdi (*ap*. Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 572); Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 276; Quatremère, II, 84, etc.

[5] Quatremère, II, 85. Cp. Beckett, p. 196.

holder of this title was also called "*Amír* of Aswán," chief, that is, of the Arabs in that vicinity[1].

After the granting of the title Kanz el Dowla these western RABÍ'A and such alien elements as they had assimilated came to be known as BENI KANZ[2].

About 1171–1175 they were in rebellion against Saladin[3].

In 1287 we find them taking part in the Nūbian expedition of Ḳalá'ūn[4]. By this time they were virtually supreme from Ḳūṣ to south of Aswán on both sides of the river, and, having allied themselves by marriage with the kings of Nūbia, were in the position of being recognized on either side of the frontier of Egypt as forming an almost independent state[5]. Succeeding centuries failed to oust them from their position and they are represented at the present day by the KENŪZ who live from Aswán to Korosko[6].

In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they were a perpetual thorn in the side of Egypt, being generally allied with the 'IKRIMA, the branch of ḲAYS 'AYLÁN to which the BENI HILÁL also belonged[7], and employing themselves largely in raiding from 'Aidháb on the one side to the oases on the other.

In 1366 they openly defied the government and actually pillaged the military post of Aswán. For this exploit they paid dearly, and in 1378 the heads of eleven of their chiefs were sent to Cairo by the *Amír* of Aswán. Their repression was, however, carried out with too heavy a hand and in consequence they were reduced to desperation and revolted *en masse* in 1385 and captured Aswán itself. They then resumed their career of brigandage and terrorization, and for

[1] See following chapter. The term "Governor of Aswán" which is sometimes used is misleading. Kanz el Dowla's position is made clear by Ibn Khaldūn's description of him as "amír of the Arabs in the neighbourhood of Aswán":

كان أمير العرب بنواحي اسوان يلقب كنز الدولة

(Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 288, Bk. II). His position was analogous to that of the 'Abdulláb "Mángil" in Fung days.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 5) says: "The people living next to Aswán are known as the Awlád Kanz: their ancestor was Kanz el Dowla." Unless there is any pre-Fáṭimite mention of Awlád Kanz, which, so far as I know there is not, though Mas'ūdi and Ibn Selím both wrote in the tenth century, it seems certain that the tribe did in fact only take the name of Awlád Kanz after the granting of the title of Kanz el Dowla (*Treasure of the State*). Mas'ūdi (*q.v.* in *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 572 ff.) could hardly have omitted to mention the name otherwise.

[3] See following chapter.

[4] See following chapter.

[5] Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, pp. 9–11; Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 29 and 308.

[6] See Beckett. The singular of Kenūz is Kanzi. Alternative derivations that have been suggested for the term Kanz are Kenes (the hieroglyphic name of an island of the first cataract) and Ta Kenz ("land of the bow"), the old Egyptian name for the country (Beckett, p. 196).

[7] Wüstenfeld, F; Caussin de Perceval, Table X A.

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Having once settled in Egypt the Berber intermarried with the Arabs and native Egyptians to such an extent that their Berber origin was almost forgotten. The case of the LUÁTA who named themselves ḲAYS has been already cited, and that of the HOWÁRA will follow.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries we hear of large numbers of nomad MEZÁTA, HOWÁRA and ZENÁRA (a section of LUÁTA) between Alexandria and Old Cairo[1], and many sections of LUÁTA, the tribe which had been in occupation of Barḳa at the time of Amr's conquest[2], are similarly mentioned by Makrízi[3] (1365–1441) in Gíza, Baḥnasa[4], Manūf and Upper Egypt generally, and with them MEZÁTA, HOWÁRA and others. The two sections last mentioned had also settled to the north in Bahira and Gharbía provinces and between Alexandria and 'Aḳaba[5]. About 1382 a colony of HOWÁRA was transplanted to Girga province by Barḳūḳ, the first of the Circassian dynasty, and by assiduous cultivation they reclaimed it from the desert[6]. These partly arabicized HOWÁRA, generally in company with the ZENÁTA, were largely represented in the middle ages in Algeria, Tripoli and the Fezzán[7], warring, intermarrying, making treaties and quarrelling with the Arabs, but more than any other tribe of Berber origin the HOWÁRA succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in the Nile valley. Their settlement in Girga by Barḳūḳ marked the beginning of this process, and about the end of the century, as we have seen, they first, in company with the AWLÁD KANZ, attacked and pillaged Aswán, and then some years later seized it from the AWLÁD KANZ and put it to the sword.

These HOWÁRA made Upper Egypt their final habitation. Pococke, visiting the Nile in 1737, speaks of Akhmím as under a Berber *amír*[8]; and Norden, who travelled up the Nile in 1737–8, says[9]:

> A little above the town of Siuut begin the habitations of the Arabs, known under the name of Havarra. They possess likewise lands on the other side of the Nile. They call them natives of the kingdom of Maroc. They are the best kind of Arabs. They are governed by a shech; and they are all gentlemen, pretty much like the Polanders.

Burckhardt, early in the next century, found the HOWÁRA settled in villages from el Siūt to Farshiūt on the west bank and to near Kena on the east[10]. He regarded them as Arabs, and they had posed as such since the fourteenth century at the latest[11]. He relates in full[12] how in the eighteenth century they had controlled Upper Egypt and the northern Sudan as far south as Maḥass and had compelled the Mamlūks to cede these parts to them by

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, 1, 9–11; ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 5. Quatremère wrongly reads "Mezána" throughout for "Mezáta."

[2] Butler, p. 430. They submitted to 'Amr in 642 A.D. In el Mas'ūdi's day they occupied the oasis of Kharga (see Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 697).

[3] Quatremère, II, 201 and 207–208.

[4] In Baḥnasa the bulk of the population were Luáta.

[5] Quatremère, *loc. cit.*

[6] *Ibid.* II, 209.

[7] Their strain is also believed to survive very strongly in the Shawia Arabs of West Africa. See Carette, pp. 126 ff.

[8] Quatremère, II, 200.

[9] *Travels in Egypt and Nubia*, II, 24.

[10] *Nubia*, App. I.

[11] Ibn Khaldūn (ed. de Slane), I, 273.

[12] For further details see Part III, Chap. 8.

treaty. In spite of subsequent reverses at the hands of the Mamlūks their power was not broken finally till 1813, when Ibráhím Pasha inflicted upon them a crushing defeat[1].

These HOWÁRA are represented in the Sudan by two quite distinct groups, namely, the nomad HAWÁWÍR of Dongola and the HOWÁRA, or GELLÁBA HOWÁRA, who have colonies in Kordofán and Dárfūr[2].

Of the other Berber tribes there are fewer representatives in the Sudan, but we shall see that on the Blue Nile there is a tribe of "MOGHÁRBA" who are of distinct Berber-Arab ancestry[3], and that in northern Dárfūr and farther west the ancient Berber strain is strongly marked. If Ibn Khaldūn[4] is to be believed, as Barth thinks he is, it was the branch of HOWÁRA who returned westwards that gave their name in the perverted form of HOGÁR to the all-powerful TUWÁREK tribe generally known as AZKÁR, the owners of all the country round Ghat.

[1] Burckhardt, App. III, 531–533; cp. Hamilton, p. 257.

[2] For these see Chapter 8 in Part III.

[3] Note, too, the "Zenára" who occur among the Bedayría and the Hawázma (*q.v.* Part III), and the occurrence of such names as Gebel el Zenáti and Khor Nakhnukha (a Berber name) in central Kordofán, north of Bára, in the Khayrán.

[4] Ed. de Slane, Vol. I, 275, *ap.* Barth, Vol. I, Ch. x, p. 228.

# NOTE TO GENEALOGICAL TREES 1, 2, 3

To illustrate Part II, Chapter 1, three genealogical trees are given[1]. They also serve to some extent to illustrate Part IV. The first shews the Ḳaḥṭánite tribes, the second the Ismá'ílitic tribes (and their connection with the descendants of Ḳaḥṭán), and the third the 'Abbásid and Omayyad families and that of the Prophet.

The following points require to be noted with regard to these trees:

1. They are (with the exception of the inset to Tree 1) entirely compiled from Wüstenfeld's *Register zu den genealogischen Tabellen*.... Other authorities of course give many of the details differently.

2. Tree 1 is compiled from Tables I–XXIII in Wüstenfeld. Trees 2 and 3 are compiled from Tables A–Z in Wüstenfeld.

(Throughout Wüstenfeld's work figures refer to Ḳaḥṭánite tribes and letters to Ismá'ílitic tribes.)

3. I have altered Wüstenfeld's German orthography to that used throughout this book.

4. A vast number of names given by Wüstenfeld, which are either quite unimportant in themselves or which are irrelevant to my subject, have been omitted. My object has been to provide reasonably compact skeleton trees for ready reference, as Wüstenfeld's work, though frequently quoted in this book, is not easily accessible.

At the same time many apparently unimportant names are inserted (still on Wüstenfeld's authority) since they bear suggestive resemblances to proper names found among the Arab tribes of the Sudan—whether there is actually any connection or not.

5. The dates given are generally only approximate and, unless the contrary is stated, refer to the year in which the man named was born. These dates (excepting the later historical ones) are adopted from Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes...*, Vol. I.

6. The names of the eponymous ancestors of the most famous tribes are shewn in capitals. Names of tribes are shewn in italics.

[1] See end of Part, after p. 190.

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# HISTORY

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merely according to their various leaders and not tribe by tribe. There is no doubt, however, that the leaders would naturally be followed by more of their own respective tribes than others, for instance, 'Amr and Zubayr by Ḳuraysh, and we also know that when 'Amr laid out a town he apportioned separate streets and quarters to separate tribes[1]. A very remarkable lack of information exists as to the names of the tribes that conquered Egypt, though there is an enormous mass of literature dealing with this era, and the explanation lies partly in the heterogeneous nature of the force[2].

Two tribes which were certainly represented to a large degree were those of Lakḥm and Gudhám.

Considerable toleration was at first displayed towards the Copts, to whom 'Amr guaranteed, in return for their paying the taxation imposed, "their religion, their goods, their churches and crosses, their lands and waters"; and no doubt it was partly in consequence of this policy, and not merely on account of the weakness of the Roman garrisons, that Egypt was so rapidly subdued[3].

Before the end of 641 the whole country from the Red Sea to Barḳa and from the Mediterranean to Aswán had become a province of the Muslim Khalifate[4].

III In this same year[5] or the next 20,000 men were sent under the command of 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ibn Abu Sarḥ[6] to invade Christian Nūbia. This constitutes the first Muhammadan invasion into the Sudan[7]. Details of it are lacking, but the result was apparently not

[1] See Yáḳūt, *ap.* Butler, p. 339, and the remarks concerning the foundation of Fosṭáṭ on p. 137 above.

[2] Butler states (p. 198): "Most of 'Amr's following belonged to the tribe of 'Akk, although Al Kindi says that one-third were of the tribe of Ghâfiḳ." This does not help us much. In the first place, though this is not certain, there were, it seems, two quite separate 'Akks. One was a son of 'Adnán (عدنان), and as such would be an ancestor of half the whole Ismá'ílitic stock; the other was son of 'Odthán (عدثان, and hence the confusion), *i.e.* a Ḳaḥṭánite. In the second place, Gháfiḳ was grandson of 'Akk the son of 'Adnán, *i.e.* the Beni Gháfiḳ were a section of Beni 'Akk. (See Wüstenfeld, I, 55; II, Table A, and Kay, p. 3.) 'Amr himself apparently thought little of them, as he summed up their achievements in the words "The Gháfik [Bouriant reads ''Afeq''] are smitten and smite not" (Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 469). The sort of confusion mentioned is very rife and prevents our making full use of even the scanty mentions of definite tribes which are extant. To make things worse we know that the Arabs very commonly took advantage of coincidences of nomenclature among their ancestors to claim identity with tribes with whom they had no real connection at all (so el Hamdáni, *q.v.* in Kay, p. 214).

[3] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 5, 6, quoting el Ṭabari (I, 2588).

[4] Lane-Poole, p. 14.

[5] Lane-Poole, p. 15; Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 581.

[6] A Ḳurayshite; see Wüstenfeld, O.

[7] The Arabs are said, however, to have come into contact with the Nūbians and Bega already at Baḥnasa (Oxyrhinchus)—(see Budge, II, 184, and Burckhardt, p. 528)—but the story is of doubtful worth.

altogether unsuccessful, for the Nūbians paid the tribute (*bakṭ*) of slaves imposed upon them for some years[1].

IV Meanwhile in Egypt 'Amr was busying himself with problems of administration, his general policy being to accept the pre-existing Roman system as a whole and slightly modify it to suit the change of circumstances[2]. Among the cardinal tenets of Muhammadan policy in these early days was the prohibiting of the acquisition of land by the Arabs. This is an important point, and must have largely affected the emigration question. "The idea was that they should remain soldiers, and not engage in agriculture as settlers[3]."

Later, however, this restriction became practically inoperative. The Khalifa 'Omar, who being no financier regarded Egypt exactly as Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha at a subsequent epoch regarded the Sudan, soon became dissatisfied with the revenue which was sent him from Egypt and, thinking to augment it, first divided the province into two halves, giving 'Amr control of the Delta and 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad of the long riverain stretch running thence to the first cataract[4], and later appointed 'Abdulla ruler of the whole and recalled 'Amr.

V In 651–2 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad, as governor of the whole country, made his second expedition against Nūbia, in consequence of the frequent raids made into Egypt. The account of this which is extant we owe to the description of Nūbia written between 975 and 996 A.D.[5] by 'Abdulla ibn Aḥmad ibn Selím (or Sulaym) el Aswáni and partly preserved in extracts by el Maḳrízi[6].

'Abdulla pushed as far south as Dongola, the capital of the king-dom[7], and bombarded the town with catapults and destroyed the church. The Nūbians then sued for peace, and the terms granted them are sufficiently interesting to be given in full[8]:

> In the name of God, etc....This is a treaty granted by the *amír* 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ibn Abu Sarḥ to the chief of the Nubians and to all the people of his dominions, a treaty binding on great and small among them, from the frontier of Aswán to the frontier of 'Alwa. 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad ordains security and peace between them and the Muslims, their neighbours in the Sa'íd, as well as all other Muslims and their tributaries. Ye people of Nubia, ye shall dwell in safety under the safeguard of God and his apostle,

[1] Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 23). Butler, following Ibn el Athír, thinks that the expedition was a failure.

[2] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 18.

[3] Butler, p. 461.

[4] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 20.

[5] 975–996 are the dates of Al 'Aziz bi'llahi the Fáṭimite Khalífa for whom el Aswáni wrote his work (see Quatremère, II, 3).

[6] See Maḳrízi (*Kheṭáṭ*), I, vi; II, 549, 580 *et seq.* Cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 21–23.

[7] The king's name is translated as Ḳalidūrūth by Bouriant and as "Koleydozo" by Burckhardt.

[8] As translated by Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 21 *et seq.*).

Muḥammad the prophet, whom God bless and save. We will not attack you, nor wage war on you, nor make incursions against you, so long as ye abide by the terms settled between us and you. When ye enter our country, it shall be but as travellers, not as settlers, and when we enter your country it shall be but as travellers not settlers. Ye shall protect those Muslims or their allies who come into your land and travel there, until they quit it. Ye shall give us the slaves of Muslims who seek refuge among you, and send them back to the country of Islam; and likewise the Muslim fugitive who is at war with the Muslims, him ye shall expel from your country to the realm of Islam; ye shall not espouse his cause nor prevent his capture. Ye shall put no obstacle in the way of a Muslim, but render him aid till he quit your territory. Ye shall take care of the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirts of your city, and hinder none from praying there; ye shall clean it, and light it, and honour it. Every year ye shall pay 360[1] head of slaves to the leader of the Muslims [*i.e.* the Khalífa], of the middle class of slaves of your country, without bodily defects, males and females, but no old men nor old women nor young children. Ye shall deliver them to the Governor of Aswán. No Muslim shall be bound to repulse an enemy from you or to attack him, or hinder him, from 'Alwa to Aswán. If ye harbour a Muslim slave, or kill a Muslim or an ally, or attempt to destroy the mosque which the Muslims have built in the outskirt of your city, or withhold any of the 360 head of slaves, then this promised peace and security will be withdrawn from you, and we shall revert to hostility, until God decide between us, and He is the best of umpires. For our performance of these conditions we pledge our word, in the name of God, and our compact and faith, and belief in the name of His apostle, Muḥammad, God bless and save him. And for your performance of the same ye pledge yourselves by all that ye hold most sacred in your religion, by the Messiah and by the apostles and by all whom ye revere in your creed and religion. And God is witness of these things between us and you. Written by 'Amr ibn Shuraḥbíl in Ramaḍán in the year 31." [May–June, 652 A.D.]

VI This treaty continued in force for over 600 years. The tribute was paid over yearly to the officer in charge of the frontier post of el Ḳaṣr, five miles south of Aswán. At the same time a present of forty slaves was handed over by the Nūbians and a large gift of wheat, barley, lentils, cloth and horses by the Arabs. The gift of one party was in theory no doubt the equivalent of that of the other, but unless the only detailed list of amounts that survives is entirely inaccurate —which is of course possible—the Arabs would probably in practice have had more difficulty in getting their tribute of 360 slaves had not their gift to the Nūbians exceeded in value that of the Nūbians to them by something very like the amount of the tribute[2].

[1] Mas'ūdi (III, 39), "365."

[2] Cp. Butler, p. 432, and note in this connection the terms in which Maḳrízi alludes to the "baḳṭ" *apropos* of its renewal in the year 1276 (see later). The origin of the custom of exchange was as follows: When the Nūbians paid their tribute

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of a total of twenty-two were from Ḳuraysh[1], the same number from Ḳays 'Aylán[2], one from Guhayna, two from Azd[3], three from Ḥimyar[4], one from Lakhm, and one whose tribe is unrecorded[5].

Of the sixty-one different governors of Egypt who served an 'Abbásid Khalifa between 750 and 856 the tribe to which at least thirty-three belonged is known. Of these thirty-three as many as fifteen were themselves members of the Beni 'Abbás, three were Beni Tamím[6], five from Azd[7], two from Ṭai, one from Lakhm, two from Mudhḥig, two from Bagíla[8], two from Ḥimyar[9], and one apparently an Armenian.

IX It would of course be those of the tribesmen who settled in the large towns or took to cultivation of the river banks who chiefly intermarried with the older Coptic population and remained in Egypt: the more nomadic tribes would naturally be more exclusive, and incidentally less eligible, in the matter of intermarriage, and such of them as penetrated in later years into the Sudan were probably still as purely Arab as when they entered Africa.

Half a century after the death of 'Amr (722) occurred the first of a long series of Coptic revolts. Few of these people had been converted to Islam and by now there were some 5,000,000 of them living in Egypt[10].

As a set off to their power, the tribe of Ḳays 'Aylán was induced to immigrate to Egypt and settle round Balbays, and we have seen that by about 750 A.D. there were some 3000 of them in that locality and that, so far from strengthening the hand of the ruler of Egypt, they formed a hot-bed of revolt.

X Of the state of the countries south of Aswán at this period we have little news. Such as there is comes to us from Christian sources and consists of the following. About 737 A.D.[11] the governor of Egypt

[1] Mostly Beni Ommayya, related to the reigning Khalífa.

[2] Fahm, 'Abs, Fezára and Bábila sections: all these in the first half of the eighth century.

[3] Including one of the Khazrag.

[4] One Aṣbaḥi, one Kelbi, and one Ḥadrami. The Beni Kelb are a section of the Ḳuḍá'a branch.

[5] El Ḥurr ibn Yūsef (724–727).

[6] A section of Mudr.

[7] Two belonged to the Khuzá'a division and two to the Muhallăb.

[8] The Beni Tamím, Azd, Ṭai, Lakhm, Mudhḥig and Bagíla were all related to one another, being descendants of Kahlán (see Wüstenfeld, p. 4).

[9] "El Ruayni" and "El Kelbi."

[10] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 27, 28.

[11] See Abu Ṣáliḥ, pp. 267–268: cp. also Lane-Poole, p. 27. Abu Ṣáliḥ places the incident "in the Khalifate of Marwán el Ga'adi, the last of the Ommayyad Khalifas" (*i.e.* between 744 and 750), but he is unreliable. The whole story is probably largely exaggerated. Abu Ṣáliḥ's account "is borrowed from the biography of the patriarch Kháíl in the compilation of Severus of El Ashmūnayn; see *Anc. Fonds Arabe*, 139, p. 162 f." (Evetts).

extorted money so blatantly from the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria, Anbâ Khá'il, that the latter went up-country to ask for assistance. The king of Abyssinia[1], Cyriacus, was so indignant at the humiliation thus inflicted on his spiritual chief that he marched on Egypt with

> 100,000 horsemen and 100,000 camels....When the Nūbians [*i.e. Abyssinians*] entered Egypt, they plundered and slew, and took many prisoners, and laid waste many inhabited places in Upper Egypt as they marched towards Miṣr. Now when the ruler of Egypt heard what was the cause of their coming, and was told as follows: "when the patriarch of Egypt went up to ask assistance of the Christians in Upper Egypt, news of this reached the king of Nūbia and the king of Abyssinia and [another] king subject to the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Egypt, and [the first named] was indignant at the news"; then [the Governor of Egypt] released the patriarch from his obligations and ceased to extort money from him, and begged him to write to the king of Nūbia and bid him return [to his own country]. So the patriarch wrote to the king as he was requested and the king returned, and no longer acted as he had done, but departed to his own country.

XI In 750 A.D. the 'Abbásid dynasty supplanted that of the Ommayyads, and Marwán, the last ruler of the defeated party, met his death a fugitive in Egypt. The first 'Abbásid Khalífa was 'Abdulla

[1] Abu Ṣáliḥ calls Cyriacus "King of Nūbia," but he is vague on this point. Later (p. 272), speaking apparently of contemporary affairs (c. 1208 A.D.), he says: "The number of kings in Nūbia is thirteen and all these rule the land under the supremacy of Cyriacus, the Great King; and all of them are priests and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without killing a man with their own hands; but if a king kills a man, he may no longer celebrate the liturgy ...etc." But if we continue we find in the account of Abyssinia (p. 286): "All the kings of Abyssinia are priests, and celebrate the liturgy within the sanctuary, as long as they reign without slaying any man with their own hand; but after slaying a man they can no longer celebrate the liturgy; and the conditions by which they are bound after they have killed a man have already been spoken of in this book." It seems that, as Evetts says, "this proves the confusion in the mind of our author of Nubia with Abyssinia." Abu Ṣáliḥ, also under the heading of "Abyssinia" (which, as we have seen earlier, he includes in the term "India": see p. 49, above) says: "The King of El Muḳurra, who is an Abyssinian and is an orthodox king, is the great king among the kings of his country, because he has an extensive kingdom, including distant regions in the north of the country, and has many troops; and he is the fourth of the kings of the earth, and no king on earth is strong enough to resist him; and at a certain place in his country he possesses the Ark of Noah" (p. 286, and cp. p. 296). Here, too, he seems to have involved himself in the same confusion, for the description given would apply to Abyssinia but never to Nūbia or the district of Muḳurra. Thus there can be little doubt, I think, that it was the Abyssinians who were chiefly responsible for the attack on Egypt about 737. A minor point supporting the theory is Abu Ṣáliḥ's remark *apropos* of the 100,000 horsemen. "Now Nūbian horses are small, like the largest of the Egyptian asses, but have a great power of enduring fatigue" (p. 268). No one who has been in the Sudan for long can fail to recognize in this description the "habashi" (*i.e.* Abyssinian) pony, and it is not indigenous to any other part of Africa but Abyssinia. At the same time it is clear from the sentences which follow in the text that the Nūbians assisted the Abyssinians, and the mention of camelmen at once suggests the Bega tribes.

Abu el 'Abbás el Saffáḥ, "The Shedder of Blood." His policy was one of ruthless repression and the extermination by wholesale massacre of all possible rivals among the Ommayyads and the partizans of the Imám 'Ali.

Such of the BENI OMMAYYA as escaped from the slaughter fled to the more distant parts of the Islamic world. Some found a home in Spain[1], some in Egypt, and some within the borders of India.

Other parties are said to have fled direct to the Sudan, and it is from one of these that the Sudanese traditions derive the Arab element among the FUNG dynasty who at the beginning of the sixteenth century founded the kingdom of Sennár in the Gezira[2]. Stripped of obvious inaccuracies and inconsistencies the tradition relates that one Sulaymán ibn 'Abd el Mălik ibn Marwán fled before el Saffáḥ to Abyssinia and thence to the Sudan, where he married the daughter of a local king. The congeries of tribes known at present as the GA'ALIYYŪN ("GA'ALIÍN") are said in contradistinction to be of 'Abbásid origin. Again el Mas'ūdi[3] speaks of 'Abdulla, the son of Marwán the last of the Ommayyads, as taking temporary refuge in the Sudan and leaving it by way of Báḍa' (*i.e.* "Airi," or el Ríḥ[4]) after losing his brother 'Obaydulla and many followers. Ibn Selim, as quoted by el Maḳrízi[5], also refers to this event and there is no reason to doubt that it constitutes a historical fact[6].

XII [7]In Egypt and the neighbouring countries, meanwhile, a period of widespread revolt naturally followed the change of dynasties and the numerous religious controversies that had arisen.

The Khawárig sect of puritans caused serious trouble and bloodshed in Egypt in 754, and in Barḳa, in 759, in common with recalcitrant Ommayyads and Berbers, and in Abyssinia in 765. The Copts rose periodically during the same period, and the BENI ḲAYS round Balbays took the chance offered by the general confusion of affairs to brigandize freely along the trade routes.

[1] *E.g.* 'Abd el Raḥman ibn Mu'áwia in 756 A.D. founded there an Ommayyad dynasty.

[2] See BA CCXIII, A 2 XXX, A 11 VII and LIII, D 2 1, etc. in Part IV.

[3] "Kitáb el Tanbíh," in *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Part VIII, p. 330. The sons of Marwán entered the Sudan *via* Aswán with their families, dependents and Arab adherents and some Beni Ommayya from Khorásán.

[4] So identified by Crowfoot: *Red Sea Ports*..., pp. 542 ff. Báḍa'—Airi lies near Akík, just north of the eighteenth parallel. The variant Báṣa' ("Basê") in Maḳrízi (*Kheṭáṭ*, II, 553) is clearly a misprint for Báḍa'.

[5] *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 553. Cp. Quatremère, II, 16.

[6] Tombs have actually been found on the old site of Báḍa' by Crowfoot which are dated about the end of the tenth century and prove that members of the Beni Ommayya settled there. See Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae*..., p. 3.

[7] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 31–34.

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the west and Dahlak and Báḍa' on the east should pay to the Khalifa a yearly tribute of a hundred camels or 300 dinárs. The continuance of Kanūn's rule under the Khalífa's overlordship was dependent on this payment. Other clauses of the treaty provided in the interests of Muhammadan subjects for due respect being paid to their religion, the protection of their persons and property, freedom of trade and travel in the BEGA country, assistance in the recovery of escaped slaves or strayed animals, and an engagement to give no assistance to any enemy of Islam. The BEGA were only allowed to visit Upper Egypt unarmed and on condition of their not entering any town or village[1]. They also engaged not to damage the mosques erected at Siḥa[2] and Ḥagar or elsewhere throughout the BEGA country, and agreed that Kanūn himself, who was to receive a free pardon for past offences, should reside in Egyptian territory as a hostage for the performance of all these provisions and the representative of his people.

In return for a strict compliance with these terms the BEGA were placed under the protection of God, the Khalifa, and all Muhammadan subjects.

XVI No sooner had the affairs of the BEGA been thus settled than it became necessary to take measures against the people of Nūbia, who had refused to pay their tribute. According to Ibn Selim[3] the Arabs in return adopted the policy of inciting against them the neighbouring tribes—the BEGA no doubt—and of cutting off their food supplies. Zakaria ibn Babnas, who was king of Nūbia at the time, before deciding on his course of action, sent his son George[4] to appeal at Baghdád. George was very well treated and succeeded in obtain-

[1] *I.e.* the Bega were prohibited from Egyptian territory altogether unless they were merely passing through it or trading with the nomad Arabs. The region between el Ḳaṣr (the northern limit of Nūbia on the river, five miles from Aswán, see Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* II, 549) and el Ḳubbán (on the east bank, three days south of Aswán, opposite Dakka, see Burckhardt, p. 508) was barred altogether. In this connection see later, p. 182.

[2] Burckhardt (p. 508), "Dhyher."

[3] Quoted by el Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 584–585. According to Abu Ṣáliḥ (*q.v.* pp. 268–270) the arrears of fourteen years were demanded. The fourteen years would date from about 833 A.D., for while Abu Ṣáliḥ speaks of Ibráhím, the brother of the Khalífa Mámūn, as demanding these arrears, Ibn Selim dates the trouble in the reign of el Mu'taṣim: the latter succeeded Mámūn in 833. From Ibn Selím's account one would certainly not suppose the tribute had been overdue for more than perhaps a year. Abu Ṣáliḥ gives his account "according to the history of the church and the biography of Anbâ Joseph, the 52[d] patriarch." He takes it from the biography of Yūsáb (*i.e.* Joseph) in the compilation of Severus of el Ashmūnayn (Paris MS., *Anc. Fonds Arabe*, 139, pp. 250 f.). Joseph occupied the see from 831 to 850 (?). (See Renaudot, *Hist. Patr.* pp. 277–294.)

[4] Maḳrízi, ed. Bouriant, "Firqi"; Budge (II, 188), "Fêrakî"; Burckhardt, "Feyrakey." Abu Ṣáliḥ gives "George."

ing a large order upon the treasury of Egypt payable as soon as the tribute was handed over. Arrangements were also made for the tribute in future to be paid every three years, but the amount of the gifts usually presented by the Muhammadans to the Nūbians on the occasion was cut down, and various demands made by Zakaria were refused.

With this George had to be content—as well he might be—and the tribute was duly paid.

His father, it is said, founded a church in honour of his safe return[1].

XVII Still more serious trouble broke out in 854 during the rule of 'Anbasa, the last and best of the Arab governors of Egypt, for the BEGA refused to pay tribute and raided the riverain towns of Edfū and Esna. A large army of Arabs was eventually mobilized on the Nile and marched inland from Ḳūṣ, while a smaller force was sent with supplies by way of the Red Sea. In the result the BEGA were completely routed and their chief, 'Ali Bábá, surrendered to the Arab general. He was well treated and in 855–856 actually induced to visit the Khalifa at Baghdád. Peace was then concluded and the matter of the tribute arranged. One of the chief clauses of the treaty laid stress on the facilities that were to be given to the Arabs to work the mines in the BEGA countries. This done, 'Ali Bábá returned in safety to his own country[2].

XVIII A new class now begins to appear in Egypt[3].

[4] From the time when the Arabs came in contact with the Turks on the Oxus and brought them under their rule, Turkish slaves had been highly prized in Muslim households. Their physical strength and beauty, their courage, and their fidelity had won the trust of the great emírs, and especially of the caliphs who believed they could rely more safely upon the devotion of these purchased foreigners than upon their own jealous Arabs or the Persians among whom they dwelt and who had hitherto had a large share in the administration of the Empire. The young Turkish slave who

[1] Abu Ṣáliḥ, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 568, and Lane-Poole, pp. 41, 42. Lane-Poole, who quotes Ibn Miskawayh on this subject, somewhat confuses the Bega with the riverain Nūbians. *E.g.* he speaks of 'Ali Bábá as king of the Sudan and of his men as "blacks." It is, however, quite clear from the description of incidents that the trouble was with the Hamitic camel-owning nomads of the Eastern desert. According to el Maḳrízi (*loc. cit.*) the war ended in 856.

[3] The Mamlūk period proper does not commence yet. In a sense it may be said to begin with Saladin in 1175: "Saladin the creator of the Egyptian Sultanate was also responsible for the introduction of the Mamluks" (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April 1915); but "the real founder of the Mamluk Empire" was Baybars, who came to the throne in 1260.

[4] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 59. The quotation included by Lane-Poole is from E. T. Rogers, *Coins of the Ṭūlūni dynasty* (Numism. Orient. IV), p. 2.

served his master well usually acquired his freedom and received valuable court appointments. "The caliphs, who were often unable to appease the turbulent spirits of the native emírs, except by granting them special privileges and territorial rights, were gradually led into the opposite error of alienating the most powerful of their subjects, and in giving all their confidence to those foreign slaves, who thus acquired the entire control of the interior of the palace. These illiterate and barbarous white slaves (or *mamlūks*), now incorporated into the society of the educated rulers of a great empire, soon became conversant with the law of the Ḳorān. They adopted the language and religion of their masters. They studied science and politics; and when any of them became capable of undertaking the more difficult tasks or of occupying the more eminent posts in the court, they were emancipated, and appointed to the various government offices according to the talents they displayed.

Thus manumitted Turks were appointed not only to the chief offices in the palace, but to the governorships of some of the most important provinces in the Empire."

In the Sudan the Mamlūks are generally known as the *Ghuzz*[1].

Egypt had naturally been affected by this revolution, and from about 836 the successive governors held it in fee for Turks at Baghdád.

XIX Till 856 they were Arabs, but in that year 'Anbasa was recalled, and in September, 868, after a series of Turkish governors had ruled for a space, a Mamlūk succeeded in founding a dynasty which was to direct the affairs of Egypt for fifty-seven years[2]. This man, Abu el 'Abbás Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, was a remarkably capable administrator, but ruthless in his methods, and with the new order of things the Arabs, who had fallen into entire disfavour, became extremely discontented and began to emigrate south and west to the Sudan and the Berber countries, to escape the heavy hand of the alien.

XX Within three months of his accession Ibn Ṭūlūn was involved in a Nūbian expedition[3]. Its leader was Abu 'Abd el Raḥman ibn 'Abdulla ibn 'Abd el Ḥamid el 'Amri, and his force consisted chiefly of RABÍ'A and GUHAYNA. As soon as affairs in Nūbia had been dealt with el 'Amri turned eastwards towards the mines[4], where since the

[1] Cp. Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 138; el Tūnisi, *Voy. ou Ouadây*, p. 319; and el Mas'ūdi, Ch. XVII, who speaks of "the Nomadic Turks, who are the Ghuzz." Sprenger deals exhaustively with this word in his edition of el Mas'ūdi (1 Vol.). They are properly the Seljuk Turks. The word Ghuzz is etymologically the same as "Scythian," and it occurs again in "Getes," "Massagetes," "Kirghiz," "Tunghiz" (Sprenger, *loc. cit.* pp. 238–240). The word is also used for the 'Ayyūbite Kurds; see Bouriant (Maḳrízi), pp. 75 and 107.

[2] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 42, 61.

[3] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 569, 575.

[4] It is said that 60,000 camels were employed transporting his provisions from Aswán.

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To the east, as far as the Red Sea, were the marauding BEGA and the Arab tribes who had settled among them. The latter were chiefly RABÍ'A, MUḌR and various Ḳaḥṭánites from the Yemen, and numbered about 3000. They had intermarried with the BEGA and all alike owed ultimate allegiance to the great sheikh Abu Marwán Bishr (Bashir ibn Marwán) of the RABÍ'A.

The BEGA themselves were still pagans, excepting, that is, the ḤAḌÁREB, a warrior clan among them, who, it is stated, could put into the field 30,000 men mounted on camels.

The Nūbian chieftains, by now, it is interesting to note, claimed a Ḥimyarite descent[1], just as did the rulers of Kánem and Bornu at a later date. To some extent this may have been a result of intermarriage with the Arab tribes who had settled round Aswán, for el Mas'ūdi especially notes that the population of that town—still a great trading emporium—was largely mixed with Nūbian, and that numerous Arab families, Ḳaḥṭánite and Ismá'ílitic, had bought lands from the Nūbians and established themselves there[2]; but the claim may equally have rested on an intimate association of long standing with Abyssinia and its half-Yemenite population.

Beyond 'Aloa, it was reported[3], was "a great tribe of blacks called Kunna [Kenna (?), Kinna (?)]. They are naked like the Zing and their land produces gold. In the kingdom of these people the Nile divides."

XXIV In 951 a successful raid was made by the Nūbians on the oasis of Kharga which at this period was under the domination of the LUÁTA Berber[4].

About five years later[5] they attacked Aswán but a punitive

[1] ملوكهم تزعم انها من حمير. So an old Copt in 873 told Ibn Ṭūlūn (see Mas'ūdi, II, 372–382). Cp. Quatremère, II, 16 (quoting Ibn Selím, *ap.* Maḳrízi): "On dit que Selha, père des Nubiens, et Makorry, père des peuples du Makorrah, étoient natifs du Yémen. Suivant d'autres Noubah et Makorry étoient Hémiarites d'origine." See note to MS. "BA," para. CXXXIII, in Part IV, for further remarks on this.

[2] Mas'ūdi, III, 41, 50. The tribes of Ḳaḥṭán, Muḍr, Nizár, Rabí'a and Ḳuraysh are mentioned. Burckhardt (App. III, p. 529) remarks of this passage (which is quoted by Maḳrízi in *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 572): "The notice of these Arab tribes is interesting because it shews how this part of Africa came to be peopled by them, and explains why we find on the Niles, in Kordofan, Darfur and Borgho, pure Arabian blood."

[3] Mas'ūdi, II, 383 (Ch. 31). Here again the old Copt's story to Ibn Ṭūlūn is being quoted. The Arabic is as follows:

ووراء علوة امة عظيمة من السودان تدعي بكنه وهم عراة كالزنج وارضهم تنبت الذهب وفي مملكة هذه الامة يخترق النيل

These "Kunna" are no doubt Ibn Selím's "Kersa" or "Kernina," for whom see p. 171. De Meynard and de Courteille wrongly translate "qu'on nomme Bekneh."

[4] Mas'ūdi, III, 51; Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 697, 698.

[5] Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* p. 574; Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 267.

expedition was despatched under Muḥammad ibn 'Abdulla el Kházin who captured Ibrim, executed a number of Nūbians, and led back others to Egypt as slaves.

XXV A gap now follows in our knowledge of affairs in Nūbia. But to the north of it important events were taking place.

The Fáṭimites, supporters of the theory that the divine right of succession to the Khalifate was inherent in the descendants of the Imám 'Ali, the husband of the Prophet's daughter Fáṭima, had consolidated their power in Barbary, and with the decline of the Ikhshids came the obvious chance of realizing the persistent ambitions which had already led them half a century before to invade Egypt[1]. The chance was not wasted. In 969 the heretical Fáṭimite Khalifa, Abu Tamim Ma'add el Mu'izz, with an army of Shi'ites entered Fosṭáṭ in triumph[2], and in the same year Cairo was founded.

The new dynasty was phlegmatically accepted by the people of Egypt, and the Sherifs of the Holy Places and the ruler of northern Syria recognized it[3].

An attempt was also made to convert George, the king of Nūbia, but it was unsuccessful[4].

XXVI Between 975 and 996 A.D.[5] was written Ibn Selim's account of "Nūbia, Muḳurra, 'Aloa, the Bega and the Nile." Such information as he gives us concerning events that happened before his time has been already quoted. We may now summarize what he tells us of the state of affairs in the last decades of the tenth century[6].

In the extreme north of Nūbia Muhammadan settlers from Egypt had acquired lands and were practically independent. A number of the Nūbians to the south of them, but north of the second cataract, had also been converted.

The chief towns in this northern section were Begrásh or Negrásh, *i.e.* Faraṣ[7], Ibrim and el Derr (?)[8]. It was under the control of a powerful official known as the "Lord of the Mountain," the repre-

[1] The Shí'a doctrine had been introduced into Africa in 893 by 'Abdulla el Shí'i, and had been at once adopted by the great Berber tribe of Ketáma. From them it spread rapidly among the other Berber-Arab tribes who formed the population of north Africa west of Egypt (Lane-Poole, *Hist.* Ch. IV).

[2] Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* pp. 90, 98. His force consisted largely of Ketáma and other Berber tribes. It also contained Greeks, Slavs, etc. (Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* I, 269).

[3] Lane-Poole, *loc. cit.* p. 104.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 105.

[5] Quatremère, II, 3.

[6] His geography is not very clear and I omit detailed discussion of the many points that arise.

[7] *Arch. Rep. Nubia*, 1910, Griffith, p. 19. The site is also that of the ancient Pakhóras.

[8] This seems a fairly certain emendation for the "Adwa" (ادوا) of some texts.

sentative of the king of Nūbia[1], and it was a part of his business to see that no one passed the barrier of the second cataract, *i.e.* that near Ḥalfa, without due authorization. His authority seems to have extended nearly as far south as Sái. Beyond the southern limit of his dominions money was unknown and all trade was conducted by bartering slaves, cattle, camels, iron and corn for the products of the north. The "*marísi*" language was spoken as far south as "Yastu[2]," a village lying about thirty-six miles south of the third cataract and, says Ibn Selim, marking the boundary between the provinces of Maris, or Nūbia proper, and Muḳurra (*Muḳurra proper*?)[3]. Beyond this point lay two districts known respectively as Baḳūn and Safad Baḳl [Safdíḳal (?), Sandíḳal (?), Safdabḳal (?)[4]]. The latter extended as far south as Dongola, and Dongola was the capital of the whole country from the Egyptian frontier to the borders of 'Aloa.

Ibn Selim comments on the fertility and prosperity of the country on either side of Dongola.

Of the ordinary inhabitants he says practically nothing, but he mentions an immigrant sub-tribe of BEGA called the ZENAFEG who retained their own language and kept aloof from the Nūbians: they led a pastoral life somewhere between the present sites of Abu Ḥammad and Berber. We shall see that farther north and east other ZENAFEG were subject to the ḤAḌÁREB.

The territory of Dongola extended no further south than el Abwáb (Kabushía), which was the northernmost district of the kingdom of 'Aloa[5] and was ruled by a vassal *mek* known by the title of

[1] That is, apparently, the king of Muḳurra, of which district Dongola was the capital. Yáḳūt mentions (see Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 261, *note*) that the king of Nūbia called himself "King of Muḳurra and Nūba" (*sic*).

[2] So Bouriant (يستو). Burckhardt notes (p. 523): "I find this word written Yonso, Benso, Noso. Perhaps Mosho, the frontier town of Dongola, is meant." The "36 miles" are in the Arabic "3 baríd." Burckhardt says a "baríd" is 12 miles.

[3] Muḳurra is generally spoken of in a wider sense (*e.g.* by Ibn Selím himself three pages later) as stretching much farther north, and on p. 549 Ibn Selim speaks of Negrásh (Faras) as capital of Marís and on p. 554 as capital of Muḳurra. Marís and Nūbia proper are identified as distinct from Muḳurra (pp. 551, 554). Presumably Marís was merely a name sometimes applied to that northern portion of Muḳurra which was inhabited by a distinct type of Egyptianized Ethiopian. The title of Ibn Selím's work (*q.v.* above) supports this. The word Maris is Coptic and means "the South," *i.e.* the most northernly part of Nūbia, looked at from the standpoint of Egypt. (See Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 260, and Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 372). Amélineau, on what grounds I do not know, says Muḳurra extended from Korosko to the ancient Napata (Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 261, *note*): see note 5, below.

[4] See Burckhardt, pp. 496, 523.

[5] If so the southern boundary of Muḳurra was presumably just north of Kabushía, *i.e.* within a few miles of the ancient Meroe. It is not absolutely certain from Maḳrízi's text whether this fact is stated on his own authority or that of Ibn Selím. Burckhardt assumes the latter.

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et s'en va. Le lendemain matin tout l'enclos est ensemencé et la bière a été bue; au temps de la moisson, on coupe quelques tiges que l'on dépose dans un endroit avec de la bière, et l'on se retire; quand on revient on trouve la moisson faite et mise en gerbes. On fait de même quand il s'agit de battre le grain ou de le vanner. Mais si quelqu'un, voulant sarcler son champ, arrache par hasard le moindre épi, il trouve le lendemain tout le champ arraché....Les gens du pays attribuent cela aux génies; ils croient que certaines personnes peuvent obliger, au moyen de certaines pierres, les génies à les servir...les nuages même leur obéirent.

Concerning the religion of the tribes of 'Aloa we are told that

La plupart reconnaissent le Créateur; ils lui font des sacrifices sous la forme du soleil, de la lune ou des astres. Certains d'entre eux ne connaissent pas le Créateur et adorent le soleil et le feu. D'autres adorent tout ce que leur plaît: arbre ou animal[1].

A description of the nomad BEGA and their country follows[2]. This is too well known to need much quotation. The main points to be noticed are that a matrilinear system still survived among them[3], that they were by now divided into a number of independent tribes and no longer acknowledged the rule of a single supreme sheikh as in the time of 'Abdulla ibn Gahm. Among their customs was that of removing the right testicle from their male children: female excision was also practised. For the rest, most of what is said of the BEGA and their ways might well have been written at the present day of their descendants.

The ḤAḌÁREB division of the tribe, who lived on the Red Sea coast and the Egyptian frontier, were the first BEGA to be converted to Islam. The rest of the BEGA were still practically all pagan, worshipping demons and living under the influence of their holy men. To these latter the BEGA applied for guidance in their ventures and the holy man would in a frenzy of inspiration foretell success or failure.

XXVII But to return to affairs in the north. The Fáṭimites remained in power in Egypt for some 200 years and the earlier period of their rule was one of sumptuous magnificence, art, and material prosperity. The western provinces, however, soon began to break away from their dependence: "Abu Raḳwa," with a force of KETÁMA and BENI ḲURRA, a section of GUDHAM, seized Barḳa in 1005 in the reign of the fanatic Ḥákim[4]. After routing the Khalifa's troops he proceeded to occupy Upper Egypt. Here he was unsuccessful and suffered a

[1] Trans. Bouriant (p. 558). Cp. Quatremère, II, 25.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 561–571.
[3] For the ancient prevalence of the matrilinear system see note to para. XXXIII of this chapter.
[4] Lane-Poole, p. 128. Cp. p. 149, above.

severe defeat. In consequence he fled to Nūbia, where the king then was Raphael[1], but was captured at the monastery of St Sinuthius in 1006, taken to Cairo, and impaled[2].

Fresh risings, chiefly engineered by the KETÁMA, supervened, and in 1021 Ḥákim was murdered[3].

Ḥákim's mad rule had been a reign of terror: that of his successor el Ẓáhir was equally so.

XXVIII From 1036 to 1094 el Mustanṣir, the grandson of Ḥákim, ruled Egypt, but Syria was no longer subservient, and the ṢANHÁGA and KETÁMA Berbers to the west offered no more than a nominal allegiance: they frequently gave less[4].

About 1044 the Ṣanhági governor of North Africa, Mu'izz, renounced Shi'ism, and two years later proclaimed his independence[5]. We have already seen how the BENI HILÁL and BENI SULAYM, with other parties of Arabs, were dispatched from the Sa'íd to bring him to reason, how they laid waste his country, and how they then amalgamated with the Berbers and remained in practically independent possession[6].

In spite of the loss of its provinces and the exactions of its rulers Egypt appears to have been fairly tranquil and prosperous. A Persian traveller has left a record[7] of his visit between 1046 and 1049 and has described the luxury of the capital. The composition of el Mustanṣir's forces at this time is worth noting: there were "20,000 mounted KETÁMA Berbers, 10,000 BÁṬILIS, 20,000 blacks, 10,000 'Orientals' [Turks and Persians], 30,000 purchased slaves, 15,000 Bedawis of the Ḥegáz, 30,000 black and white slave attendants and chamberlains (ustád), 10,000 palace servants (seráyi), and 30,000 negro swordsmen." With such a heterogeneous army it is not surprising that in 1062 a serious internal crisis arose between the Turks and the Berbers on the one hand and the blacks on the other[8]. Neither side was animated by any loyalty to the Egyptian Khalifate and while 50,000 of the blacks were driven into Upper Egypt, whence they continued for some years to harry the more northernly provinces[9], the Berbers

[1] According to Abu Ṣáliḥ (p. 265) Raphael introduced into Nūbia a new style of architecture. "The King's house [at Dongola] is lofty, with several domes built of red brick, and resembles the buildings in Al 'Iráḳ; and this novelty was introduced by Raphael who was King of Nūbia in the year 392 of the Arabs."

[2] See Abu Ṣáliḥ, pp. 262, 265: also Abu el Fidá, *Annales*, II, 616, there quoted.

[3] Lane-Poole, p. 134.

[4] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 136, 137.

[5] Lane-Poole, p. 138.

[6] See p. 146.

[7] See Lane-Poole, pp. 139–142.

[8] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* pp. 145–149.

[9] It is obviously most unlikely that Nūbia paid any tribute during this period. About now we hear of Christodulus the 66th patriarch (1047–1100, see Evetts, *ap.* Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 121) at Alexandria requesting and obtaining monetary assistance

proceeded to overrun the Delta, and the Turks looted everything of value that could be found[1]. A seven years' famine followed and unheard of atrocities were perpetrated. However, in 1074, with the aid of Arab and Armenian troops from Syria the Khalífa managed to restore order, subdued the rebellious Berbers in the Delta and re-conquered the country as far as Aswán, so that a period of twenty years of prosperity followed.

XXIX The latter half of the eleventh century saw the subjugation of Syria by the Selgūk Turkmáns and the first Crusade. The Fáṭimite power now began to decline and it was supplanted in 1171 by the Sultanate of the 'Ayyūbite Kurds under "Saladin" [Ṣaláḥ el Dín[2]].

XXX The histories of the Fáṭimite period are so concerned with foreign wars, court intrigues, murders, rebellions, and extravagances of successive governors that there is little to be gleaned as to the nomad Arabs. In the large towns the population must have gradually become more and more mixed with Turkish and negro elements, and a certain number of the Arabs joined this heterogeneous medley and adopted a sedentary life. These, of course, would tend to lose very quickly all racial purity and even tribal distinctions: they were merged into the Egyptians and do not concern us here.

The nomads, on the other hand, remained practically unaffected. It is a striking, but not in the least surprising, fact that the tendency of each successive dynasty that ruled Egypt was increasingly to regard the Arabs, that is the nomads, not so much as forming an integral part of the state as an element of danger and unrest hovering on the borders of the country, to be made use of when convenient but never entitled to more consideration than they had the power to extort. The place they occupied, for instance, in Saladin's regard is not inaptly illustrated by the following quotation from Maḳrízi[3]:

> The Sultan [Saladin] proceeded to Alexandria for the following reason: there was a surplus population at Alexandria and at the same time money

from the king of Nūbia "on account of the exactions from which he suffered at the hands of the Government and of the Luáta" (Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 270).

In the patriarchate of Cyril (1078–1092 (*sic*), see Evetts, *ap.* Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 137), we are told, died Solomon, a king of Nūbia who abdicated in order to lead a life of asceticism and was brought to Cairo and received there with honour and finally buried at the monastery of el Khandak in the suburbs of Cairo (Abu Ṣáliḥ, pp. 270, 271).

[1] The most serious loss of this reign of terror was the destruction or dispersal of the Khalífa's priceless library of 100,000 books (see Lane-Poole, p. 149).

[2] Saladin was the first man to be styled Sultan in Egypt. However, both he and his sons and collaterals who succeeded him styled themselves only "Malik" on their coinage, though calling themselves "Sultan" in their building inscription and being commonly known as such. (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April, 1915.)

[3] *Kitáb el Selūk* (ed. Blochet), pp. 105, 106 (translated from French).

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culminated in an attack upon Aswán. The first army was sent under command of Shagá'a el Dín el Ba'albeki. The rebels fled at its approach, were pursued by Shagá'a el Dín and Kanz el Dowla, the chief of the half-Nūbianized BENI KANZ and amír of the Arabs of Aswán[1], and were heavily defeated.

The second expedition[2] took place during the same year (1172–3), and was led by Saladin's elder brother Tūrán Sháh[3]. Ibrím[4] was taken, the Christian church pillaged, many captives taken—according to Abu Ṣáliḥ 700,000—the bishop tortured, and 700 pigs slaughtered[5].

Tūrán Sháh went no further than Ibrim. On his return journey[6] he gave Aswán in fief to a certain Ibráhím the Kurd who turned it into a robber fortress whence he plundered the Nūbians. When Tūrán Sháh reached Ḳūṣ he was overtaken by a letter and presents from the king of Nūbia. He treated the envoy well and gave him a robe of honour and two arrows saying "Tell the King I have no other reply than that." He also sent to enquire into the resources of Nūbia an ambassador who went as far as Dongola and then returned and reported the country as

"a poor one, where scarcely anything is grown except a little *dura* and some small date-palms on the fruit of which the inhabitants live. The king came out of his palace naked and mounted a horse without saddle or caparisons: he had wrapped round him a robe of silk, and he had not a hair on his head. I advanced towards him," said the ambassador, "and when I would have saluted him he burst out laughing. He appeared to understand no word of what I said, and he ordered one of his men to mark on my hand the figure of a cross. He gave me about fifty *rotls* of corn. There were no buildings at Dongola excepting the palace of the king. The rest were all huts of straw."

[1] Some account of this chief was given in the last chapter. The name Kanz el Dowla was evidently a hereditary title: see p. 187. Ibn Baṭūṭa (Vol. IV, p. 396) speaks of "Ibn Kanz el Dín," *i.e.* Kanz el Dowla, as becoming a Muhammadan in the reign of el Náṣir, though the Nūbians were still Christians. He probably failed to realize that Kanz el Dowla was not a pure Nūbian himself.

[2] See note 5 on previous page.

[3] *I.e.* El Melik el Mu'aẓẓam Shams el Dowla Tūrán Sháh, surnamed Fakhr el Dín.

[4] Of Ibrím at this time Abu Ṣáliḥ says (p. 266): "In the land of Nūbia is the city of Ibrím, the residence of the Lord of the Mountain, all the inhabitants of which are of the province of Marís; it is enclosed within a wall. Here there is a large and beautiful church, finely planned, and named after Our Lady, the Pure Virgin Mary. Above it there is a high dome, upon which rises a high cross." Ibrím, it will be remembered, was the ancient Primis. For the "Lord of the Mountain" see p. 169.

[5] Abu Ṣáliḥ (p. 267) also mentions the capture of a large quantity of cotton at Ibrim: it was taken to Ḳūṣ and sold there. According to Ibn Khaldūn, Tūrán Sháh got practically nothing except slaves from the expedition, there being even a shortage of corn.

[6] Maḳrízi, *Kitáb el Selūk*, pp. 111, 112.

XXXII In 1174 Kanz el Dowla revolted with a following of Arabs and blacks and invaded Egypt in the Fáṭimite interest. Saladin sent his brother Melik el 'Ádil against him, a battle was fought near Ṭūd, and the Nūbians were completely defeated. Kanz el Dowla himself was captured and put to death[1].

With the death of Saladin in 1193 the main centre of power and of interest moves from Egypt to Syria[2] and the continued record of wars with the Crusaders seldom touches our main thesis[3].

XXXIII We gather some valuable information concerning Nūbia in the early years of the thirteenth century from Abu Ṣáliḥ the Armenian[4], though his value is greatly decreased by his obvious confusion between Abyssinia and Nūbia and by his credulity.

The best-known place-names in Nūbia were still, as in el Mas'ūdi's day, Maris, Muḳurra, Dongola, and 'Aloa.

Maris was the name of the most northernly province, which stretched southwards from the Egyptian border by Aswán to Korosko, that is to about 60 miles north of Wadi Ḥalfa. Its capital was Bujarás "which is a well-populated city: there is the dwelling place of Jausár, who wore the turban and the two horns and the golden bracelet." This description is extremely interesting. The two horns at once suggest the *taḳía*[5], or two-horned cap, of the FUNG king and his *Mangils*; and the golden bracelet has surely survived in the name of the great Sowár el Dhahab ("Bracelet of Gold") family who still reside in Dongola and claim to be BEDAYRÍA of the DAHMASHÍA section. Muḳurra was the district stretching from Korosko southwards. It probably contained seven episcopal sees, namely Korti, Ibrim, Bucaras (Bujaras), Dongola, Sái, Termus and Suenkur[6], and certainly numerous monasteries and churches.

'Aloa lay near the junction of the Niles. The name generally refers to the district of which Sóba was the capital, but is also used, by Abu Ṣáliḥ, for instance, for Sóba itself.

The description given by Abu Ṣáliḥ of this district with its garrisons and 400 churches of the Jacobite Christians will be quoted

[1] Maḳrízi, *Kit. el Selūk*, pp. 118, 119; *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 574; Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 518; and Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 289, Bk. II). I have followed Maḳrízi's version. Ibn Khaldūn attributes the revolt to Kanz el Dowla's annoyance at certain lands near Aswán being allotted by Saladin to one of his amírs. He also differs as to the name of the leader of the punitive expedition.

[2] Lane-Poole, p. 212.

[3] Maḳrízi (*Kit. el Selūk*, p. 464) mentions a revolt of Arabs in the Sa'íd in 1240–1.

[4] See Abu Ṣáliḥ pp. 260 *et seq.* and notes by Evetts and Butler. Abu Ṣáliḥ's work was composed about 1208 A.D.: see p. x (Evetts).

[5] See Part III, *sub* "'Abdulláb." See also Part I, Chap. 1, XVII, for what may be a Ḥimyarite parallel.

[6] So Vansleb.

later[1] when we come to record the destruction of Sóba by the FUNG 300 years after Abu Ṣáliḥ's time.

Dongola was the royal residence. "It is a large city on the banks of the blessed Nile, and it contains many churches and wide streets[2]."

Trade was all by exchange, and the chief medium seems to have been slaves who were handed over to the Arabs and Mamlūks in return for cloths and suchlike.

A matrilinear system still held good, for

It is said to be the custom among the Nūbians when a king dies and leaves a son and also a nephew, the son of his sister, that the latter reigns after his uncle instead of the son; but if there is no sister's son, then the king's own son succeeds.

"Nephews" figure very largely in the records of this and the following century and we have already seen how the Arabs accepted and used for their own purposes this system of succession among the Nūbians[3].

[1] See D 7, 1, *note*.

[2] Yaḳūṭ calls it "Dumḳula" (دمقلة).

[3] See the case of the Guhayna in the last chapter. The matrilinear system was quite understandable to the Arabs. Robertson Smith speaks of the "early and universal prevalence of mother-kinship" in Arabia as being "only gradually superseded by paternal kinship," and thinks "the old Arab groups of female kinship were originally totem tribes" (*Kinship and Marriage*, pp. 27–33 and 212). The practice is extremely ancient. See Breasted, *Hist.* p. 84, *re* the Old Kingdom in Egypt: "the natural line of inheritance was through the eldest daughter ...the closest ties of blood were through the mother..."; and *ibid.* p. 141, *re* the Middle Kingdom. Compare, too, the case of Thutmose (Thothmes) I of the eighteenth dynasty and of Osorkon I of the twenty-second (Libyan) dynasty in Egypt (Breasted, *Hist.* pp. 208, 364). The same system applied among the Bega (Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 561; Burckhardt, p. 503). It is also recorded about 1353 by Ibn Baṭūṭa as existing among the Berber princes of the country round Asben (Áir); see Barth, I, 338, 340, 341, and Cooley (p. 40) for the same in Ghána, Waláta and Máli. The Berber tribes when they reached these parts pursued the same obvious course as did the Arabs when they entered Nūbia. Barth says, "with respect to the custom that the hereditary power does not descend from the father to the son, but to the sister's son,—a custom well known to be very prevalent not only in many parts of Negroland, but also in India, at least in Malabar,—it may be supposed to have belonged originally to the Berber race...but they might also have adopted it from those tribes (now their subjects—the Imghád) who conquered the country from the black natives...." Cp. also Barth, II, p. 273 (quoted on p. 92, *note*). We see an instance of the same custom among the Kabábísh seven generations ago. Kerádim, who was the first of the Nūráb family to rule the whole tribe, was the sister's son and successor of Kurbán of the Ribayḳát section, which had previously held the sheikhship (see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 185).

The custom is still in vogue at Gebel Mídób (N.E. Dárfūr)—see Part I, Chap. 4, IV—and in the hills of Abu Ḥadíd and Um Durrag and el Ḥaráza in northern Kordofán. For instance, Abu Shenko the late "mek" of Abu Ḥadíd told me in 1910 that his father was a Zagháwi from Kagmar and his mother the daughter of a local "mek," that the mother of Tibayn, the "mek" of Um Durrag, was the daughter of a previous mek but his father only one of the Asadáb (non-royal) section at the same hill, and that the well-known 'Abd el Hádi who, though a Dólábi (Dóálíb) on his father's side, ruled the "Nūba" of el Ḥaráza, did so by virtue of the fact that his mother was a Nubáwía of the royal stock.

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and repeatedly raided Egyptian territory in the neighbourhood of Aswán and 'Aiḍháb[1]. Dáūd wisely evaded an engagement and retreated southwards, so that the troops sent against him had to be content with capturing numbers of Nūbians who had remained in their villages and taking them to Egypt, where they were put to death.

XXXVIII In 1276 Baybars dispatched a much larger army, composed of regulars, provincials, and Beduins, under the command of Shams el Dín el Faraḳáni and 'Izz el Dín Aibek el Afram. They were also accompanied by Shekenda[2], the son of Dáūd's sister, who had been to complain to Baybars against his uncle.

The armies met somewhere between Aswán and Derr (?)[3] and a battle was fought in which the Nūbians[4] were defeated and put to flight.

El Afram then marched rapidly on Derr (?) and put it to the sword, while el Faraḳáni pushed on beyond the second cataract by land and river looting and slaughtering.

Ḳumr el Dowla, who was apparently the "Lord of the Mountain" at the time, tendered his submission and swore allegiance to Shekenda.

El Afram then proceeded southwards taking large numbers of prisoners, including Dáūd's wife, sister and brother: the king himself, however, evaded capture[5]. Shekenda was crowned king on

[1] See Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 586, and Burckhardt, p. 514. Bouriant writes "694" (A.H.) by error for "674," but correctly converts the date to June, 1275–June, 1276. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 271) gives the date of this affair as 1272–3. If Dáūd pillaged the country round 'Aidháb, he must have been in alliance with the Bega tribes who interposed between the Nile and the Red Sea coast.

[2] Bouriant calls him "Skandah"; the MS. Hist. Ḳaláūn gives "Meschkedet" (Quatremère, II, 111, etc.); Burckhardt gives "Shekendy" and notes "I find this name written in my MSS. Shekende, Sekebde, Tenekde, Sekende (شكندة سكبدة تنكدة سكندة): see *Nubia*, pp. 514, 528. Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 400, Bk. II) gives "Martashkín" (مر تشكين) four times, and "Min Tashkíl" (من تشكيل) once—probably by misprint. Ibn Khaldūn's account also makes "Martashkín" the uncle instead of nephew of Dáūd: it is less detailed than that of Maḳrízi, and the main discrepancies will be mentioned.

[3] Burckhardt, "Kallet Addo" (قلعة الدو, *i.e.* الدو for الدر). See p. 169, *note*.

[4] Maḳrízi's statement that these "Nūbians" were mounted on camels and clothed in long black tunics (Burckhardt, "black *dekadek*") suggests that they were largely Nūbianized Arabs (Beni Kanz?) or semi-arabicized Bega allies of the same. It will be remembered that the Beni Kanz, who had amalgamated with the Nūbians, were originally a branch of Rabí'a, the tribe which had amalgamated with the Bega; and the mention of 'Aidháb is significant. Black was the 'Abbasid colour, worn originally as a sign of mourning for el Ḥasan. A black robe is worn at the present day by the men throughout Upper Egypt and by the Barábra, 'Abábda, etc., in Lower Nūbia. Its use declines further south.

[5] Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) says Dáūd fled to el Abwáb (*i.e.* Kabūshía), but was seized by the Mek of that district and sent a prisoner to Baybars, who threw him into a dungeon and left him to die there.

consideration of his solemnly engaging to pay the ancient *baḳṭ*[1] and also to deliver yearly three giraffes, three elephants, five she-leopards, a hundred russet[2] camels and four hundred head of cattle. He also promised to hand over to the Sultan all monies and cattle that belonged to Dáūd and to the Nūbians killed or captured by the expedition.

By the same treaty Nūbia was divided into two parts, and under this division the cataract district lying immediately south of Aswán[3] became a fief of the Sultan, to whose person was payable the customary proportion of the dates, cotton and other produce[4]. Such of the people as remained Christian were also to pay a yearly poll tax of one dinár for each adult male. The two *amírs* then destroyed the churches of the Nūbians[5] and carried off the contents. They also insisted on twenty Nūbian chiefs being handed over—as hostages, one supposes—and the release of such Muhammadans of Aswán and 'Aidháb as the Nūbians had imprisoned.

[1] The "baḳṭ" is spoken of as "400 slaves and a giraffe, of which 360 slaves were for the Khalífa and 40 for the lieutenant of the Khalífa [*i.e.* the Sultan] in exchange for 1000 ardebs of wheat for the king and 300 ardebs for the royal delegates." Compare the terms quoted on p. 158.

[2] Burckhardt (p. 514), "camels of good race."

[3] It is spoken of as "nearly one quarter of Nūbia," "Nūbia" being apparently used in the sense of Marís or Nūbia proper.

[4] So I interpret the clause. Lane-Poole speaks of (1) the "baḳṭ" of slaves, (2) the "tribute" of elephants, giraffes, etc., and (3) of an engagement "to pay half the revenue of the kingdom" in addition. Similarly, Burckhardt (p. 515), in his translation, rightly distinguishes between the "baḳṭ" and the "annual personal tribute" of animals, and continues "and that the soil of Nouba should thenceforward be divided into two parts; one half for the Sultan, and the other to be appropriated to the fertilizing and guarding of the country; excepting the territory of the cataracts, which was to belong entirely to the Sultan, on account of its vicinity to Assouan: this alone was about one-fourth of Nouba. Farther, that the dates and the cotton of this part, as well as the ancient customary duties, should be carried off, and that as long as they should remain Christians, they should pay the Djezye, or annual Om Dinar in cash, for every grown-up person."

Bouriant alters the effect considerably by translating "Il fut établi que le territoire de la Nubie serait partagé en deux parts, l'une destinée au Sultan et l'autre réservée pour l'entretien et la garde du pays; le district des cataractes, voisin immédiat d'Assouan et formant à peu près le quart de la Nubie, serait tout entier la propriété du Sultan qui recevrait les dattes, le coton et les autres redevances que payait le district depuis le temps le plus ancien. Les habitants restant chrétiens furent soumis à la capitation; chaque homme adulte devait payer par année un dinar d'argent comptant." It seems to me inconceivable that the king of Nūbia should have been expected to pay (1) "baḳṭ" and (2) tribute and (3) half his revenues and also (4) to give up a quarter of the country, and I venture to suggest the interpretation offered. Ibn Khaldūn (Vol. v, p. 400, ed. ar. Bk. II) speaks of "an allotted tribute and certain definite gifts payable yearly, and the strongholds (حصون) near Aswán to pass to the Sultan (تكون خالصة للسلطان)." He says nothing of half the revenue of Nūbia being taken by Egypt.

[5] There is no indication in Maḳrízi's narrative that the Sultan's troops went more than three or four days' march south of Ḥalfa. Lane-Poole (*Hist.* p. 271) says "the forts of Daw [Derr?], Sūs and Dongola were taken."

XXXIX One point in this treaty is of particular interest: the district lying immediately south of Aswán was recognized as a perquisite of the Sultan of Egypt. This was no new idea. King Zoser of the third dynasty conveyed it to the God Khnum[1], and about seventeen hundred years later Rameses III confirmed the gift for all time and made the inhabitants and the land itself and its produce free from taxation by the crown: its wealth was to be entirely for the service of the god[2].

The extent of this reserved area was from Aswán to Takompso, which latter was at least as far south as Muḥarraka, the classical Hierasycominos; and in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods it was known as the Dodekaschoinos ("the field of twelve Schoinoi"), and considered a dependency of Egypt[3]. There is no trace there of typically Meroitic or Ethiopian settlements[4].

Its people were largely Egyptianized and it is evident that it was traditionally regarded as an annex of Egypt rather than an integral portion of the dominions of the king of Dongola. It is noticeable, too, that it formed, roughly speaking, "the boundary of the population that wrote in Meroitic" and corresponded approximately to the Dár Kanūz of the present[5].

When 'Abdulla ibn Sa'ad invaded the Sudan in 651–2 and formulated terms of peace nothing was said about this region to differentiate it from the rest of Nūbia, but as the Arabs were new-comers and still unaware of the traditional history of the countries they were subduing, this is only natural.

In the course of years they evidently learnt more, and we see the fruits of their knowledge in the attitude adopted in 831 after the BEGA war: the only territory in Egypt or Nūbia which was absolutely prohibited to the BEGA was that lying between el Ḳaṣr (near Aswán) and el Ḳubbán (near Muḥarraka), *i.e.* the old Dodekaschoinos.

Now, in 1276 A.D., we have Baybars practically usurping that which had once been the right of the great god Khnum. It is not of course suggested that he was aware of the full import of his action from a historical point of view; but merely that he knew a particular region to be traditionally regarded as a special reserve attached by certain ties to Egypt and seized the opportunity to monopolize it for his own benefit.

[1] Breasted, *A. R.* I, 24.
[2] *Ibid.* IV, 146–150.
[3] *Ibid. loc. cit.*, and Milne, p. 23, and Abu Ṣáliḥ, p. 260.
[4] Other than the X-group (Nobadae?). *Arch. Surv. Nubia Bull.* 7, 1911.
[5] See Griffith, *Nubian Texts*..., p. 58. See also Cailliaud, I, 394, where Ḳubbán (which is close to Muḥarraka) is mentioned in 1821 as the southern boundary of the Maḥass.

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The Beni Hilál and Beni Kanz have been sufficiently described already.

The army was divided into two portions, one of which followed the west bank of the river and the other the east. Shamamūn made no attempt to withstand its advance, but wrote to Gurays, the "Lord of the Mountain[1]," and "Governor of the isles of Mikháil and the province of Daw" [Derr (?)], ordering him to follow the policy of retreating gradually until he joined forces with him.

The Muhammadans overtook the Nūbians at Dongola and defeated them with great slaughter. Shamamūn fled and Gurays was captured.

Shamamūn's nephew[2] was then appointed by the victors to the throne of Dongola, and Gurays was reinstated as his vassal and ordered to pay tribute.

This done, the Arabs retired, but Shamamūn at once reappeared and reconquered his kingdom and ejected his nephew and Gurays.

XLII In 1289 a larger force, accompanied by the two deposed rulers, was sent from Egypt. During their advance Shamamūn's nephew died at Aswán and was replaced by a nephew of the old king Dáūd[3].

The Arab advance was in the main the same as on the occasion of the previous expedition, but Gurays and the Awlád Kanz went ahead of the main army to try and effect by peaceful means what the troops would otherwise achieve by force of arms. Resistance was only met with when the territories of Gurays had been left behind, but when Dongola was reached it was found that Shamamūn had fled to an island fifteen days to the south, and within three days' journey of Kabushía.

The Arabs lost no time in pursuit, and Shamamūn, deserted by his adherents, retired to the capital of Ador.

The country at once submitted peaceably, the necessary formalities were arranged at Dongola, and by 1290 the Muhammadans were back in Cairo with their booty. It is almost unnecessary to say that Shamamūn immediately reappeared in Dongola, and without any

[1] From Abu Ṣáliḥ (p. 266, quoted above) we gather that the Lord of the Mountain lived at Ibrím and that the people there belonged to the province of Marís. Speaking, however, of Muḳurra (p. 262) Abu Ṣáliḥ mentions "A city called the city of Bausaḳá. This is a large and handsome city, full of people and of all commodities, and possessing many churches. Here dwelt the Lord of the Mountain, whose eyes were put out by George, son of Zacharias Israel. Here is the monastery of Saint Sinuthius...near the town there is a gold mine."

[2] Presumably his sister's son; see p. 178.

[3] Ibn Khaldūn instead of "nephew of Dáūd" gives "Dáūd the son of Martashkín's brother" (*loc. cit.*).

trouble re-established himself in his old position. He also put to death Dáūd's nephew[1] and Gurays, and wrote to Ḳaláūn offering to pay the tribute that had been assessed and to give no trouble. Ḳaláūn, having other and more important matters to deal with, was in no position to refuse, and the same year he died.

Shamamūn was consequently left undisturbed for a time. One gathers, however[2], that he soon began to give trouble again, and that a certain lesser *mek* called Any also revolted. Whether a separate expedition was sent against each or whether the same one dealt with both is not clear owing to the fragmentary state of the only manuscript. The latter is far more probable. In any case Any escaped, two days before the arrival of the troops, to the stronghold of the 'Anag, which was very likely Gebel el Ḥaráza[3], and Shamamūn was replaced by a king called Boudemma, who had previously been in prison in Egypt.

The latter of these two events seems to have occurred in the reign of Ḳaláūn's immediate successor, that is, between 1290 and 1293[4], and the veteran 'Izz el Dín el Afram, the leader of the expedition of 1276, was the *amír* sent to carry out the investiture.

'Izz el Dín also pushed southwards a distance of 33 marches[5] beyond Dongola, evidently with the intention of meeting the *mek* of Kabūshía district [Quatremère's "roi des Portes"], who was probably Any's overlord. But the *mek* failed to put in an appearance and wrote later to 'Izz el Dín pleading as his excuse that he had been away pursuing Any. He also mentioned that the 'ANAG country had been lately invaded by some alien tribe, but that he proposed trying every means to eject the intruders, and that if he succeeded all the country of the blacks would be subject to the Sultan.

On his return from Kabūshía 'Izz el Dín received the oath of allegiance from Boudemma and the priests at Dongola and returned to Egypt. He left behind him a guard of infantry for the new king and a large supply of corn[6].

[1] Ibn Khaldūn, "Dáūd" (*loc. cit.*).

[2] See *Hist. Ḳaláūn*, *ap.* Quatremère.

[3] See MacMichael, *Tribes of N. and C. Kordofan*, pp. 87 ff. The difficulties of water transport which prevented the troops pursuing him shew that he fled inland from the river. The prevalence of local traditions to the effect that el Ḥaráza was a stronghold of the 'Anag support the theory that it was there Any took refuge.

[4] See *Hist. Ḳaláūn*, *loc. cit.* 'Izz el Dín, on his return, reported results to "El Melik el Ashraf." The latter, whose full name was El Melik el Ashraf Ṣaláḥ el Dín Khalil, was Ḳaláūn's son and successor (Lane-Poole, p. 284).

[5] Assuming he travelled fairly hard this would bring him to Kabūshía, which was normally, as we have lately seen, 18 days' journey (*i.e.* 36 marches) from Dongola.

[6] The *History of Ḳaláūn* carries us no further.

XLIII In 1299[1] the Mamlūks suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Mongol hordes at Ḥimṣ, and one of the after-effects of this and of the oppressive taxation necessitated by a depleted war-chest was the serious Beduin revolt which broke out in Upper Egypt in 1302. The trouble was quelled with promptitude and thoroughness. From Giza and Aṭfiḥ southwards thousands were put to the sword and their possessions confiscated. A nomad wherever found was at once executed[2]. It is said that 8000 oxen, 6000 sheep and goats, 4000 horses, and 32,000 camels formed the spoil.

XLIV Meanwhile, the settlement of Nūbia seems to have been distinctly successful, for in 1304–1305 we have the king Amái[3] bringing presents to Cairo and seeking aid from the Sultan el Náṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳaláūn, and obtaining it. Taktóba the Governor of Ḳūṣ was sent to help Amái with an army of regulars and Arab auxiliaries[4].

In 1311 the tribute was paid by Kerenbes[5], the last Christian king of Dongola, but he was evidently less docile thán his predecessors, for both in 1315 and 1316 troops had to be sent to Dongola. The second of these two expeditions was accompanied by 'Abdulla ibn Sanbu, nephew of Dáūd, and resulted in the capture of Kerenbes and his brother Abraam and their removal to Cairo[6].

'Abdulla ibn Sanbu—a Muhammadan—was then made king.

XLV A new favourite now appears for the Nūbian throne, Kanz el Dowla the chief of the BENI KANZ settled round Aswán. He attacked 'Abdulla, put him to death, and made himself king. Whether he had allied himself by marriage with the royal house, in the usual manner, or whether he had no other right than might, we do not know.

[1] Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 300.

[2] If he claimed not to be a nomad he was told to pronounce the shibboleth "*daḳiḳ*," the *ḳ* of which the Egyptian would pronounce as an *'ain* and the Beduin as a hard *g*.

[3] Ibn Khaldūn (ed. ar. Vol. 5, p. 429, Bk. II) calls him "Áy" (آى) and says he does not know if he was "Semamūn's" successor or whether any other ruler interposed between the reigns of the two. He dates his death in 1316, but is probably in error.

[4] El Maḳrízi, *Kit. el Selūk*, *ap.* Quatremère (II, 114): cp. Lane-Poole, p. 299.

[5] Maḳrízi, *loc. cit.* Ibn Khaldūn calls him (*loc. cit.*) "Kerbays" and makes him brother as well as successor of Amái ("Áy"). Maḳrízi's account is adopted in the following paragraphs.

[6] Ibn Khaldūn (*loc. cit.*) gives "'Abdulla Nashli." He says he was one of the Nūbian royal family who had lately settled in Egypt and been converted to Islam. Ibn Khaldūn's account of what follows is that "Kerbays" fled to the Mek of el Abwáb and that the Sultan requested the Mek to hand him over and that the Mek complied. Kerenbes must have been sent to Egypt by way of the Red Sea, *e.g. via* 'Aidháb, for after 'Abdulla's murder, according to Ibn Khaldūn, the rebels sent to el Abwáb for Kerenbes and only then learnt that he was in Egypt. When the Sultan heard of the episode he sent Kerenbes to them and he became their king.

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murdered king's brother was installed at Daw [Derr (?)] and not at Dongola suggests that success was only partial. The BENI KANZ so far from offering any resistance, gave every facility to the troops; and such of the 'IKRIMA as resisted were killed.

XLVIII What happened eventually to the new king is not known. In 1397–8 there is record[1] of a king called Naṣr el Dín who was ousted by one of his relatives and fled to Cairo for help—which the Governor of Aswán was told to give. From his name this king must have been a Muhammadan, and for all we know he may have been one of the BENI KANZ. At this period the BENI KANZ and other Arabs and the HOWÁRA and other Berber tribes were amalgamating rapidly with the riverain Nūbians, northwards from Dongola, and Islam was supplanting Christianity in a corresponding ratio.

The power of the Mamlūk government so far up the river was almost negligible[2], and the state of affairs under their rule in Egypt was such as to offer every inducement to the nomad tribes to depart to districts where they were not subjected to any alien power. If an expedition was sent to Nūbia it was easy for the tribes to give way for the time being and to resume their old status as soon as the troops had gone.

Thus the settlement of Nūbia by the Arabs proceeded to all intents undisturbed, and by the fifteenth century the racial characteristics of the population in the neighbourhood of the first two cataracts, and perhaps as far south as Dongola, had become substantially what they are to-day.

XLIX In the east, we learn from the traveller Ibn Baṭūṭa (1302–1377), the Sultan of Suákin, which belonged to the BEGA, was a Sherif, whose father had been *amír* of Mekka but who was connected on his mother's side with the BEGA. Between 'Aidháb and Suákin he records an encampment of some Arab AWLÁD KÁHIL (اولاد كاهل), "mingled with the BEGA and understanding their language[3]." Others of these AWLÁD KÁHIL and some GUHAYNA, together with BEGA, composed the Sultan's military force. Probably the AWLÁD KÁHIL here mentioned represent the same people who appear as KAWÁHLA (*sing*. "Káhli") or Awlád Káhil at the present day and who contain a section of the 'ABÁBDA[4].

[1] Quatremère, II, 124.

[2] About 1403 Aswán ceased for a time to be under Egypt (Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ* (*ap*. Quatremère, *loc. cit*.), and cp. Lane-Poole, *Hist*. p. 308). In that year the Sa'íd was prey to a dire famine and it is said that 17,000 deaths occurred at Ḳūṣ, 11,000 at el Siūt, and 15,000 at Hou. (Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 548.)

[3] Ibn Baṭūṭa (II, 161): مختلطين بالبجاة عارفين بلسانهم.

[4] See Part III, Chap. 5.

L We have seen in the preceding chapter what was the approximate distribution of the chief Arab tribes in Egypt when el Maḳrízi wrote his treatise, a century later than Ibn Baṭūṭa. He tells us that the greater part of Upper Egypt belonged[1] to six tribes, the BENI HILÁL, the BELI, the GUHAYNA, the ḲURAYSH, the LUÁTA (Howára ?)[2] and the BENI KELÁB.

Besides these tribes many of the ANSÁR had settled there and numbers of the MUZAYNA, BENI DARAG, BENI KELB, THA'ALIBA and GUZÁM (Gudhám)[3].

LI From 1382 to 1517 the Circassian Mamlūks held Egypt. They ruled entirely by the aid of alien mercenaries, Circassians, Turks, Greeks and Mongols, and the country passed through an era of cruelty, debauchery, corruption and injustice which even in its own stormy annals were unprecedented. During this period revolts of nomads and cultivators alike were frequent, but uniformly shortlived[4].

LII In 1504, in the far south, the FUNG and Arabs combined to form a native Sudanese kingdom in the Gezira of Sennár.

In 1517 Selím I, Sultan of Turkey, defeated the Mamlūks, and Egypt, from being an independent Sultanate, became a province of the 'Othmanli empire.

But Selim' s control did not end at the first cataract. The country south of it was already peopled by a race who were more nearly akin to their northern than to their southern neighbours, and he extended his rule over them to the neighbourhood of the third cataract and placed them under a number of *Káshifs*[5]. These *Káshifs* were officials of Turkiśh or Bosnian descent and had under their orders a number of mercenaries, mostly Bosnians, to act as garrisons: in fact, the system of Selim was almost exactly the same as that of Psammetichus I. The term *Ghuzz* as used in the Sudan applies indifferently to these Bosnian mercenaries and to the Mamlūks, and there is no doubt that they settled in Nūbia in sufficient number to modify distinctly the racial type in certain of the northern riverain districts[6].

[1] The past tense is used.

[2] Bouriant gives "Laouatah," Burckhardt (p. 529) "Howáta." Either may be correct.

[3] Maḳrízi, *Kheṭáṭ*, II, 547, also translated by Burckhardt, p. 529. The latter speaks of the Muzayna as "a strong tribe of Beni Ḥarb."

[4] See Lane-Poole, *Hist.* p. 327. Most of these Circassians apparently did not know how to speak Arabic, which was merely the language of the common people (Lane-Poole, *Quart. Rev.* April 1915, p. 542).

[5] See Budge, II, 201, 207, and Norden, I, 58–62.

[6] Cp. J. A. St John, I, 433. "The inhabitants of Derr are supposed to be the descendants of a number of Bosnian soldiers, established in Nubia by Sultan Selym." They preserved their fair complexion though often intermarrying with blacks. See the account of the Sháíḳía in Part III.

LIII It was a few years before Selím's conquest of Egypt that Leo Africanus travelled through the negro kingdoms of West Africa, and immediately after it that he went on a journey up the Nile valley[1]. The bulk of his work deals with the half-arabicized Berbers living between the Mediterranean and the Niger. These "*Affricani bianchi*," as he calls them, he divides into the five tribes of ṢANHÁGA, ZENÁTA, HOWÁRA, MAṢMŪDA and GUMERI (GHOMÁRA[2]). They were nomads, and the majority of them spoke the Berber tongue[3], but most of the HOWÁRA and GUMERI spoke Arabic, though corruptly.

Branches of them had by Leo's time been pushed farther south "to inhabite those deserts which border vpon the land of the negros[4]," though the main portion of the race remained in the north where they had blended their stock with that of the Arabs.

Of Nūbia Leo tells us very little. He says that on the south it was bordered by the "Desert of Goran," *i.e.* the steppes of northern Kordofán, and, as has been mentioned, that the Nūbians were much harried both by the TIBBU tribes ("ZINGANI") who inhabited this region and by the desert dwellers to the east of the Nile[5].

Of Aswán he merely tells us[6] that the inhabitants were "mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia." Beyond it were villages of blacks subject to the nomad "BUGIHA" (BEGA).

LIV Marmol Caravajal, who wrote about 1520 and plagiarized freely from Leo, states that "Dangala" the capital of Nūbia contained ten thousand houses of mud and was a rich trading centre[7].

[1] He is an accurate and not over-credulous writer but unfortunately one is often not sure whether he speaks of what he actually saw or whether he speaks at second hand, and he follows no system in transliterating Arabic words into Italian. He was first translated from the Italian into English by John Pory in 1600. Where Leo is at fault in the matter of transliteration Pory makes things worse by carelessness and random alterations. Leo uses Ibn el Raḳíḳ, el Mas'ūdi, and el Bekri freely and undisguisedly. He died in Tunis, after a long sojourn in Italy, in 1552. (See ed. Brown, note to Bk. VII and p. 211.)

[2] In this Leo follows Ibn el Raḳíḳ (*q.v. ap.* Carette, pp. 49, 433, etc.). Pory writes "Zanhagi," "Zeneta," "Haoari." For "Howára" Leo wrote "Aoara."

[3] Leo, Bk. I, p. 151.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 157.

[5] See Part I, Chap. 2, XLI, and Leo, Vol. III, Bk. V, p. 836.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 903.

[7] Vol. III, pp. 71 ff. Marmol's remarks concerning the wars of the Prince of Dongola with the nomads of the Bayūda and of the Eastern Desert have already been quoted (see Part I, Chap. 2, XLI).

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# INTRODUCTION

In the chapter that follows an account is given only of those Arabic-speaking tribes which are the best known in the Sudan at the present day and in which the Arab element either preponderates or is at least sufficiently strong to warrant the popular definition of them as Arabs.

Thus there is no account of the BISHÁRIÍN, HADENDOA, ḶALANḴA and BENI 'ÁMIR of the Eastern Deserts—the BEGA of the Middle Ages—who are predominantly Hamitic and do not have Arabic in general use; nor of the Nūbian MAḶASS and SUKKÓT of Ḥalfa Province; nor of the "NŪBA" of el Ḥaráza and Kága; nor of the FUNG and HAMAG of the southern Gezira, whose affinities are rather with the SHILLUK and BURŪN than with the Arabs. Some description has already been given in Part I of their general ethnical characteristics and history, and from the text and notes contained in Part IV further items of information may be gleaned.

On the other hand, it is impossible to avoid devoting some space to the DANÁGLA, and to the various branches of the MAḶASS who have taken up their abode south of the cataract regions, since it is beyond question that they have as much Arab blood in their veins as, for instance, the sedentary "Arabs" of Central Kordofán; and for the same general reason a short notice concerning the 'ABÁBDA has been inserted, and the HAWÁWÍR, though largely of Berber origin, have a section to themselves.

Some few of the names that are applied in the "*nisbas*" as though to distinct and separate tribes, and other names that are more or less familiar in the same sense to the natives of the Sudan, will not be found heading paragraphs in this chapter, but a reference to the index will generally shew that such are in fact included among the subdivisions of a larger tribe or dealt with incidentally elsewhere. Under this category in particular fall the family groups—the name tribe would be a misnomer—of the MEDANIÍN, ḶASŪNÁB, FARAḌIÍN, DELAYḴÁB and others, who only derive a separate entity from the fact that their forebears were well-known holy men of the eighteenth century, or perhaps merely members of the entourage of such.

In two respects at least the Arabs of the Sudan form a single entity. They are all Muhammadans, though their Muhammadanism has been tainted by the customs and superstitions of the various

autochthonous inhabitants among whom they have settled; and they speak Arabic. In fact the colloquial Arabic of the Sudan contains many words and phrases that would be incomprehensible in Egypt or Syria but which have well-established classical authority: this is naturally most true of the nomad Arabs and applies less to the riverain populations. The words of Escayrac de Lauture remain substantially correct:

Leur langue altérée un peu par le temps, accrue de quelques mots empruntés aux vocabulaires des nègres, est cependant encore la langue du Hedjaz plus harmonieuse, plus concise, plus énergique, plus grammaticale, et plus arabe que les jargons parlés en Égypte et dans le Gharb.

It would, however, be difficult to give a detailed history of the Arab race in the Sudan in the form of a single narrative. To deal with it tribe by tribe is an easier method, and this I will now attempt briefly to do.

In the second Part mention was made of the largest or most important of those well-known Arabian tribes which sent branches to the Sudan, and the plan was adopted of following the fortunes of each in turn, as a single whole where feasible, or otherwise as a number of subdivisions which had become practically independent of one another, down to the point of their entry into the Sudan.

In this chapter, whenever occasion arises, it will be more convenient to reverse this process, and taking in turn the best-known Sudanese Arab tribes of the present day, to attempt to connect each of them with its respective parent stock.

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Muhammadan Empire was founded by "'Abd el Kerim ibn Yamé" in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.[1]) and

Yame était de la tribu des Djaliya's [GA'ALIÍN, that is], au Chendi, au nord de Khartoum, dans la vallée du Nil. Son ancêtre était Saleh ibn Abdullah ibn Abbas, aussi Yame et sa famille se disaient-ils Abassides, comme le font encore les indigènes de Chendi, d'Abou Harras, d'Ourfa, de Neselmiya [Mesallamía (?)] et les habitants de la ville de Sennar. Avant de venir au Ouadaï, Yame s'était arrêté assez longtemps au Darfour[2].

This 'Abd el Kerim was a contemporary of Sulaymán Solong the first Muhammadan ruler of Dárfūr, whose descendants have always claimed to be descended from the BENI 'ABBÁS through a certain "Idris Ga'al[3]." The "Yame" or "Yamé" who appears as father of 'Abd el Kerim is undoubtedly "Gáma'i"—the singular of GAWÁMA'A: Barth indeed says[4]:

Wóda, the son of Yáme, belonging to the tribe of the Gémir, who at that time were settled in Shendy, and...had emigrated with his countrymen into the regions which afterwards, in honour of him it is said, were comprised under the name of Wádáy...;

and here "Gémir" can hardly mean other than GAWÁMA'A.

When, in 1916, I visited Turra in Gebel Marra, the seat of the ancient FŪR kingdom and the burial-place of its Sultans since the time of Sulaymán Solong, I found established there a small colony of GAWÁMA'A "*fuḳara*" who claimed descent from an ancestor Idris, who had been "brought by Sulaymán Solong from the river seven generations ago for the sake of religion." They had ever since been guardians of the royal tombs and "Imáms" of the local mosque.

III Now as regards the GAWÁBRA-BEDAYRÍA group, it is fair, I think, to say that the only denomination under which they can all be classed with any accuracy is that of DANÁGLA, inhabitants, that is, of Dongola[5]; and it is doubtful whether they were ever called GA'ALIÍN until el Samarḳandi asserted that they were descended from el 'Abbás and linked them on that score with the GA'ALIÍN proper who lived further upstream. This is not to deny for a moment that there is an essential similarity of race between the two groups: it is quite obvious that such exists, and an average Dongoláwi might pass for an average Ga'ali, or *vice versa*, at any time or place. Nor was el Samar-

[1] Helmolt (*Hist.* p. 584) gives his date as 1635–1655.
[2] Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 93.
[3] See, *e.g.* Helmolt, *Hist.* p. 585; and p. 92, above.
[4] Vol. III, p. 528. He notes, however, "The derivation of this royal family from the 'Abbasíyin is altogether imaginary."
[5] All inhabitants of Dongola do not, however, care to be called Danágla. The Rikábía, for instance, regarding themselves as Shurafa, resent the application of the name to themselves as suggesting they are merely Nūbians.

ḳandi likely to choose for identification two peoples whose traditions or physical characteristics must create a strong presumption against the accuracy of his diagnosis. El Samarḳandi was by no means a fool; and it is particularly noticeable that though he classes all alike as GA'ALIÍN he pictures at the same time the approximate degree of racial closeness or distance existing between the several groups by a genealogical parable of surprising acumen.

While the real *raison d'être* of the traditional identification lies in the fact that the Arab elements, which permeate in widely varying degrees both the DANÁGLA and the GA'ALIÍN groups, and especially the families of the sheikhs as distinct from the rank and file, are substantially the same at root, it is also true that the non-Arab substratum on the river from Dongola to Khartoum is to some extent homogeneous and, though not directly admitted to the argument, lends to it a strength and colour that would otherwise be largely lacking[1].

IV In the first chapter some mention was made of the BARÁBRA and DANÁGLA and of the migratory activities which these Nūbian stocks directed southwards in the years which followed the downfall of the Christian kingdom of Dongola about the beginning of the fourteenth century[2]. It was stated that many of them settled in southern Kordofán and that to this fact may be attributed the linguistic affinities between the population of the northern hills of Dár Nūba and the people of Dongola. These affinities[3] do not extend beyond the northernly group of hills, but can hardly be sufficiently explained by the mercantile proclivities of more recent generations of BARÁBRA-DANÁGLA[4].

Such of the peoples, sprung from the blend of the two elements, Nūbian and Arab, as migrated farther afield to the south and west, for instance the GAWÁMA'A and the BEDAYRÍA of Kordofán, have by now become inevitably differentiated from the northern riverain stock, since they have incorporated or become themselves merged in quite distinct negroid races. In this manner the DUBÁB have become to all intents and purposes NŪBA like those of Gebel Daier, the GAWÁMA'A are half KUNGÁRA of Dárfūr and the GHODIÁT a

[1] The autochthonous element among the Danágla is admitted in D I, CXLIX.

[2] See also introduction to Part IV as to the influx of Arab elements into Nūbia about this time.

[3] *Q.v.* Lepsius, *Nub. Gramm.* p. lxxvii, and Pallme, p. 116.

[4] See Seligman, *Journ. R. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. XLIII, 1913. As regards this modern settlement of Danágla in southern Kordofán the evidence is ample: see in particular Pallme, pp. 117, 160, 171. Seligman also bases his argument to some extent upon certain specific mentions of "Danágla" which I made in *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*, and he might have made more of this line if he had noticed that various tribes such as Dóálíb, Bedayría and Gawábra, whom I specified as being settled in large numbers in Kordofán, are all properly Danágla.

mixture of FUNG, HAMAG, NŪBA and Arab. All, however, regard themselves as, in a certain sense, GA'ALIÍN.

But the name of GA'ALIÍN as used at present in common parlance is more often limited to the large group which contains the SA'ADÁB, NIFI'ÁB, KITIÁB and other sections—the group alluded to in this chapter as the GA'ALIÍN proper—and though its exact scope varies the wider use of the term is uncommon and practically confined to genealogical discussion.

V Let us then deal in order, firstly with the tribes which, though claiming a Ga'ali origin, have for many generations been plainly distinguishable from the GA'ALIÍN proper as well as from the other tribes held popularly and vaguely to belong to the same group as themselves, and secondly with the GA'ALIÍN proper.

From the manuscripts it would appear that the following are the better known tribes and subtribes traditionally reckoned GA'ALIÍN in the widest sense of the term[1]:

1. BEDAYRÍA, SHUWAYḤÁT, ṬERAYFÍA

2. GHODIÁT, BAṬÁḤÍN

3. RUBÁṬÁB, 'AWAḌÍA; MÁGIDÍA, or MÁÍDÍA; KURTÁN; ḤÁKIMÁB, GAWÁBRA; GIMA'A, GAWÁMA'A; MANÁṢRA, ḌUBÁB, MEKÁBḌA[2], FAḌLÍA; MANṢŪRÁB, ṢANDÍDÁB; GAMŪ'ÍA; SHÁÍḲÍA; FÁḌLÁB, MÍRAFÁB, SERAYḤÁB

3. The GA'ALIÍN proper: KITIÁB, MUKÁBIRÁB, ZAYDÁB, SHA'ADÍNÁB, MESALLAMÁB, GEBELÁB; KÁLIÁB, 'OMARÁB, KABŪSHÁB, ḲANDÍLÁB, ḤASABULLÁB, GODALÁB; KARÁKISA, NÁFA'ÁB, NIFÍ'ÁB, 'ÁLÍÁB, SA'ADÁB, MUḤAMMADÁB

[1] Many of the less known or more doubtful sections are omitted. Their names and some details concerning them can be found in the texts or genealogical trees of the MSS. of the "A" group; and, in many cases, in the account of the Ga'aliín which follows. The brackets linking various tribes in the list here given denote a measure of connection according to the "*nisbas*."

[2] See *sub* Ghodiát.

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emigrate to the south-west and join their kin in Kordofán or push further west into Dárfūr[1].

About the middle of the eighteenth century a certain Balūl, one of the chieftains of the BEDAYRÍA in Kordofán, moved northwards from Abu Ḥaráz, conquered Kága Surrūg on the Dárfūr border, and made his headquarters Gebel Bishára Ṭaib or "Káb Balūl." He was, however, ousted thence by the invading MUSABA'ÁT from Dárfūr and was compelled to take refuge with the remnants of his folk at Kága Sóderi and Katūl. Here the BEDAYRÍA gradually became merged in the older population.

VII The BEDAYRÍA in Kordofán now divide themselves into two main groups and a number of subdivisions, as follows:

A. DAHMASHÍA
1. AWLÁD ḤILAYB
2. ZENÁRA[2]
3. 'AYÁDGA
4. AWLÁD MUḤAMMAD
5. SHUWAYḤÁT
6. RÍÁSH[3]
7. KADŪMA
8. AWLÁD 'ALI
9. AWLÁD SHIHÁDA
10. AWLÁD HILÁL
11. ḤUSAYNÁT[4]

B. AWLÁD NA'AMÍA
1. AWLÁD ḤAMDULLA
2. AWLÁD MAṬÍ'YA[5]
3. AWLÁD MELKI
4. 'AYNÁNÍA
5. AWLÁD MŪSA

VIII In addition to the BEDAYRÍA who preserve their name as such in Dongola, Kordofán and elsewhere, there are others for whom a Bedayri ancestry is commonly alleged. The most numerous of these are the ASIRRA who form a large section of the ḤAWÁZMA, and who are also represented in Dárfūr and Wadái[6].

IX The BEDAYRÍA of Dongola are of course entirely sedentary.

[1] For instance, at el Ḥashába in the Zagháwa country (N. Dárfūr) there is a small colony of the Ríásh branch, settled in villages.

[2] Originally Berbers. The Zenára were a section of Luáta. See p. 152, above. Other Zenára are among the Ḥawázma (*q.v.* later).

[3] It will be seen from the trees that Abu el Rísh ("Father of the Feather"), their ancestor, is traditionally a brother of Bedayr and Shuwayḥ.

[4] Bedayría by marriage only, *i.e.* their ancestress was a Bedayría.

[5] The name is mentioned ("Mateye") by Burckhardt as being that of one of the tribes of Kordofán.

[6] See Carbou, II, 91; and Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 71. The site of el Fásher itself is said to have anciently belonged to the Asirra.

Those in Kordofán have intermarried so freely with their neighbours, the partly cognate GAWÁMA'A and the ḤAWÁZMA, and above all with the NŪBA, that they have little racial individuality remaining to them. They resemble the Nūba far more than the Dongoláwi, and it is from the former that the *jeunesse dorée* of the BEDAYRÍA have adopted the fashion of wearing their hair in several thick sausage-like rolls laid longwise back from the forehead and falling at the back nearly to the shoulders[1].

They have many villages near to the south and west of el Obeid and these again have sent out numerous scattered colonies into northern and western Kordofán. In the rains the cattle-owning BEDAYRÍA, those to the south and east that is, lead a nomadic existence in company with the ḤAWÁZMA BAKḲÁRA.

X The ṬERAYFÍA are close connections and neighbours of the Nūbian BEDAYRÍA. Korti and Ambuḳól were their ancient centres and a number remain thereabouts at the present day. Many ṬERAYFÍA however have migrated elsewhere, and the majority of these are settled in Kordofán. They probably accompanied the earliest BEDAYRÍA emigrants, but instead of remaining with them they took up their abode with the GAWÁMA'A group and at the present day form one of its larger subdivisions and have become assimilated to the semi-negroid type[2]. The ṬERAYFÍA who were driven from Dongola at a later date, victims of SHÁIḲÍA aggressiveness in the eighteenth century, mostly went to Dárfūr and took to trading at Kobbé and el Fásher, etc. They are still represented among the "*Gellába*[3]" DANÁGLA at el Fásher. Others settled at Ḳerri near the Shabluḳa cataract[4].

### (*b*) THE GHODIÁT

XI The GHODIÁT[5] live south of el Obeid on the very fringe of the Nūba country, and the connection between them and the rest of the so-called GA'ALIÍN group, though apparent from all the Gạ'ali "*nisbas*," is somewhat theoretical.

In tradition they are very closely connected with the ancient tribes of the ḲUNAN and the ḲUṢÁṢ who are now extinct in the Sudan. The former are said to have lived at Rera in Kassala Province and to have been extirpated by the SHUKRÍA.

[1] The Ḥawázma have adopted the same custom but not to quite the same extent.
[2] For the subdivisions of the Gawáma'a-Ṭerayfía see *sub* Gawáma'a.
[3] "*Gellába*" are small traders, generally pedlars.
[4] Nicholls, p. 19.
[5] *Sing*. "Ghadawi." The MSS. almost universally spell "Ḳodiát" and "Ḳadawi," but the confusion between ق and غ is so common that no reliance can be placed on the correctness of that spelling.

The only record of the ĶUṢÁṢ is, I think, in a passage of Burckhardt. Speaking of the HOWÁRA of Upper Egypt in Mamlūk days he says[1]:

On the south, the tribe of Kaszas (قصاص) [*i.e.* ĶUṢÁṢ] who people the country on the west banks from Thebes to near Esne, and to whom belong the inhabitants of Gourne, Orment, and Reheygat (all celebrated for their bold plundering enterprises) were their determined enemies; although both these and the Howara report that they have the same origin from Barbary.

Both tribes have left their names in some of the small hills east of the Blue Nile near Abu Delayḳ. With the GHODIÁT, ĶUNAN and ĶUṢÁṢ the "*nisbas*" commonly include the BAṬÁḤÍN[2] whose ancient home was among these same hills.

XII On the other hand the GHODIÁT are universally allowed to be largely FUNG[3] by race.

They are also obviously as much negroid as Arab. The inference then to be drawn would seem to be that certain members of the group which also formed the substratum of the "GA'ALIÍN" tribes of the present settled at some early period in the vicinity of Abu Delayḳ; and that certain of them took an active part in the Arab-Fung movement at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in connection with that movement penetrated westwards into Kordofán and settled there among the NŪBA and intermarried with them. Or, as an alternative, it is possible that the GHODIÁT may have formed a part of the racial wave that flowed into Kordofán from Dongola two centuries before the foundation of Sennár and have subsequently acquired the FUNG connection in Kordofán itself.

XIII Their traditions relate that they took up their abode at first near Gebel Kurbág and Melbis and after a time drove the Nūba from their stronghold on Gebel Kordofán and usurped their position.

The BEDAYRÍA-GAWÁMA'A group are said to have submitted to their overlordship[4]. The story as Pallme heard it in 1838 is as follows:

The aborigines are negroes from Nubia, who, even at the present time, inhabit many parts of Kordofan. The word Kordofan itself is of Nubian derivation. Three tribes subsequently immigrated: the Hadejat, el Giomme, and Bederie[5]. The period of this immigration, however, cannot be definitely determined. These three nomadic tribes distributed themselves over the country round about Mount Kordofan, occupied themselves with cattle-breeding, and each tribe had its sheikh, or magistrate; but from these

[1] *Nubia*, p. 532.
[2] Cp. the genealogical trees of the "A" group.
[3] D 1, CCIX says Hamag instead of Fung.
[4] So tradition. Cp. Pallme, pp. 11–12, Prout and Petherick.
[5] The names appear so in the original German also. The tribes meant are the Ghodiát, the Gawáma'a and the Bedayría.

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live there in their villages to the present time among a medley of equally debased BEDAYRÍA, MUSABA'ÁT, BIRḲED[1], TOMÁM, TUMBÁB and ḌUBÁB.

XIV Among the subdivisions of the GHODIÁT are the following:

- NAFAR EL MARÁD
  - „ 'OMAR
  - „ SAFEI'
  - „ SA'ÍD
  - „ ABU KHAḌRA
- SALÁMÁT (an offshoot of the BAḲḲÁRA SALÁMÁT)
- BŬRŬḤ
- IDAYRÁT
- KU'ŪK
- MEḲÁBDA (properly BEDAYRÍA)
- SERÁRÍR

The MEḲÁBDA, it is worth noting, appear in the "*nisbas*" as a Ga'ali tribe closely cognate to the MANÁṢRA. Those who are among the GHODIÁT are regarded locally as BEDAYRÍA affiliated for several generations to the GHODIÁT.

## (*c*) THE BAṬÁḤÍN[2]

XV The BAṬÁḤÍN of the present day are a nomadic tribe with headquarters at Abu Delayḳ, halfway between Khartoum and the Atbara, and to a less degree at 'Alwán. The more southernly members of the tribe, but for a few scattered individuals settled near Wad Medani and el Manáḳil, are certain of the 'ABÁDLA section in Rufá'a district, and the most northernly the BUTUGÁB, who have lately split away from the main tribe and live in Khartoum North district.

Eastwards they do not extend beyond the boundaries of the Blue Nile Province, except in the season of the rains when they roam the common grazing ground of the Buṭána, and westwards their rights end fifteen miles or more from the river.

XVI Until about half a century ago the majority of the tribe, less powerful then than now and living round 'Alwán, were dependent for water upon the "*ḥafírs*" until these dried up in the early spring, and then upon the river. But for a long time there had been also a few of them at Abu Delayḳ, and it seems that these were popularly regarded as having ancient rights in that vicinity, if not as aboriginals[3].

However the SHUKRÍA under the great Abu Sin family had made themselves supreme in FUNG days between the Blue Nile and the Atbara and maintained their supremacy throughout the Turkish period. The BAṬÁḤÍN were a negligible factor under these conditions; and, in addition, the Delayḳáb[4], descendants of a certain Kahli "*feki*"

[1] *Q.v.* Part I, Chap. 4.

[2] *Sing.* Baṭ·ḥáni.

[3] Cp. D 3, No. 74. It is said they owned one well there. Burckhardt (p. 345) mentions Baṭáḥín among the Arabs of Shendi district in 1814, and no doubt he refers to the families whose headquarters were at Abu Delayḳ.

[4] *Q.v.* in Chap. 5 (*a*) of this Part.

surnamed Abu Delayḳ, had obtained a hold on the particular site now known by his name and a large part of the Wádi Ḥawád. Some years before the Mahdia Sheikh 'Abd el Báḳi 'Abd el Ḳádir, the grandfather of the present "*'omda*" of the BAṬÁḤÍN, succeeded in opening wells at 'Alwán, Tomáma, Um Sidayra and Ḳadūm and thereby the unity and prosperity of the tribe were considerably advanced[1].

At Abu Delayḳ there must have been wells from very early times, for water is procurable in the "*wádi*" so near the surface that a "*sáḳia*" can be used, but it was only as a result of the upheavals and vicissitudes of the Mahdia that the BAṬÁḤÍN found themselves sufficiently strong to assert their ancient claims in the face of the SHUKRÍA and DELAYḲÁB and to make Abu Delayḳ their tribal headquarters, open numerous wells there, and cultivate most of the surrounding "*wádis*[2]."

XVII In the Dervish days many of the BAṬÁḤÍN were sent north by the Khalifa to Dongola and Berber and perished there. Those remaining near Abu Delayḳ fell into his displeasure, and it is still remembered how he put sixty-seven of them to death with the utmost brutality in one day at Omdurman[3].

They now own fairly large herds of camels, cattle, sheep and goats, and cultivate a rain crop in the numerous shallow "*wádis*" of their "*dár*." They are typical nomads in physical appearance[4], lithe, sallow-red in complexion, furtive-eyed, and in character impatient of control, quarrelsome like the SHÁÍḲÍA, humorous, and more daring than the usual. They are also incorrigible and unblushing thieves; yet their thefts are not of the mean house-breaking order, but a survival from the happy inter-tribal looting days[5]. They profess

[1] Mrs Petherick (*Centr. Africa*, II, 84) speaks of "some five hundred brood of camels with their young" seen by her in March, 1862, watering on the east bank of the White Nile near Gebel Auliá and belonging to the "Batacheen."

[2] The "*'Omda*" has lately founded a village of mud houses close to the wells, an entirely new departure for the Baṭáḥín. The most permanent type of house in use among those who were not entirely nomadic had previously been a *tukl* of straw of which the wall was plastered with "*zibl*" (dung) and lime. The mixture adheres to the corn-stalks and the wooden uprights alike, and windows are cut through it. This type of building is not found west of the Nile. Inside their huts the Baṭáḥín have one or two large "suaybas," cylindrical jars for storing grain, about three and a half feet in height. Their jars ("*baṭa*'") are made from a compound of "*seiál*" gum ("*kadáb*") and leather and rags. The black colour is obtained by mashing and burning corn and forming it into a paste which is used in manufacturing the "*baṭa*'." The black conglomerate is about an eighth of an inch thick and overlies a groundwork of rag.

[3] Slatin, Ch. XIII.

[4] I except, of course, those in whom slave-blood is obvious.

[5] Within the memory of the present generation a Baṭ·ḥáni youth could not hope to gain a bride until he had proved his prowess by stealing a camel. This reminds

to be GA'ALIÍN by origin, a claim which is commonly denied them with a laugh and a sneer by the SHUKRÍA, MESALLAMÍA and other tribes who live nearest to them and consequently have cause to throw the broadest aspersions upon their ancestry. As a matter of fact it would seem from the "*nisbas*" that they are one of the oldest offshoots of that early group of Arab immigrants to whose descendants the name GA'ALIÍN is applied. They are certainly less noticeably contaminated with negro blood than any other GA'ALIÍN, and in all probability represent more closely the original stock.

Their own traditions relate in effect that their name is derived from that of the BAṬÁḤ (Lowlander-ḴURAYSH) who inhabited the neighbourhood of Mekka in the Prophet's day[1], but a variant put forward by the cynical is that their ancestor was found abandoned ("mabṭūḥ") in some "*wádi*" ("baṭ·ḥa").

XVIII The subdivisions of the BAṬÁḤÍN are as follows:

- A. 'ASHÁMA[2]
  - 1. ṢAḤBÁB
    - (*a*) NINÁB
    - (*b*) BELALÁB
    - (*c*) *Others*
  - 2. HIDAYBÁB
    - (*a*) SHERAḤÁB
    - (*b*) 'AṬAWÍA
    - (*c*) GUDŪMÁB
    - (*d*) SOWÁDÍB
  - 3. 'ARKASHÁB[3]
    - (*a*) BELALÁB
    - (*b*) UM 'ÍSA
  - 4. 'ALÁMÁB
    - (*a*) BURUḴ
    - (*b*) SHULUKHÁB[4]
  - 5. DIFAYLÁB
    - (*a*) ḴODELÁB
    - (*b*) RÁSHIDÁB
    - (*c*) NŪRÁB[5]
    - (*d*) BA'ABÍSH (*sing.* BA'ABUSHÁWI)
  - 6. 'ASÁFÁB[6]
    - (*a*) FARAGÁB
    - (*b*) *Others*

one of Burton's Beduin of the Ḥegáz among whom the name "*harámi*" ("thief") was still honourable, and of the saying once quoted of the Crow Indians "Trust to their honour and you are safe, to their honesty and they will steal the hair off your head" (Burton, *Pilgrimage*, II, 101, 112).

[1] See note to A 11, XII. The father of the "'*omda*" of the Baṭáḥín assured me that their ancestors formed a part of the army of Khálid ibn Walíd, the Prophet's lieutenant, which invaded the eastern Sudan and converted the 'Anag!

[2] They connect the word with تعشم "to covet [*s.c.* the goods of others]," *i.e.* "to loot."

[3] The root عركش, they say, means "to sprout thick and fast," *i.e.* "to thrive."

[4] From شلخ, *i.e.* incisions in the cheek.

[5] *I.e.* "descendants of el Nūr." There is no connection apparently between these and the Nūráb sections of Kabábísh or Shukria.

[6] These have attached themselves to the Shukría, and are commonly reckoned a part of that tribe.

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FAḌL in Zernakh and Kebsh and Um Bel districts[1]. Since then these have been joined yearly by others of their kin until at the present day there are few of them left in Dárfūr.

XX The subdivisions of the BENI FAḌL of Kordofán are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ḤADÁRMA[2] | GERAYWÁT | 'UḲBÁB[3] |
| ḤOMRÁN | MUḤAMMADÍA | DEBÁGHNA |
| ZŪÁÍDA | 'ÁMIRÍA | MUḲURNA |

Those of the MANÁṢRA are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ḤISÁMÍA | (*a*) TIBAYḲÁT | |
| | (*b*) ABU 'ÁMIR | |
| ḤAMMÁDÍA | (*a*) ABU SINÁBO | |
| | (*b*) ABU ḤIMAYYIR | |
| GIMAYLÍA | (*a*) SHABŪL[4] | |
| | (*b*) UM SOWÁR | |
| MERÁSHÍSH | (*a*) UM 'AZÓZA | |
| | (*b*) GEBÁRÍN | |

XXI The RUBÁṬÁB are upstream of the MANÁṢÍR as far as the fifth cataract and their country corresponds roughly to the Inspectorate of Abu Ḥammad[5]. The 'AWAḌÍA section, which appears in the "*nisbas*" under the heading of RUBÁṬÁB is, from all but the genealogical point of view, quite distinct[6]. They are largely nomadic[7], and graze over Berber Province with various subtribes of the GA'ALIÍN proper. The closeness of the connection between the RUBÁṬÁB and the

[1] Numbers of both are also scattered elsewhere, *e.g.* near to the S.E. of el Nahūd.

[2] These deny any connection with the Ḥadárma or Ḥadárba or Ḥadáreb of the Red Sea coast, but the connection may none the less exist.

[3] These claim to be the same as the Ya'aḳūbáb of Sennár, whom we shall meet as a branch of Sháíḳía. The root of both words is of course the same, but whether the Ya'aḳūbáb are more properly Beni Faḍl or Sháíḳía I cannot say. There are said to be now no other Beni Faḍl on the river.

[4] This name also occurs as that of a section of Habbánía and of a brand used by the Ḥamar Gharaysía.

[5] An interesting account of the "Customs of the Rubáṭáb" will be found in No. 2 of *Sudan Notes and Records* (1918) from the pen of Mrs J. W. Crowfoot. These include remarks on their "General Traits," their "Cult of Holy men" and their "Customs and Ceremonies" (Marriage Preliminaries, Weddings, Duties of a man and his Parents-in-law, Naming of the child and shaving of the head, etc., Tribal Marks, Circumcision and Funerals). The account given was supplied by a Rubátábi sheikh, but, as is pointed out, it would apply almost equally to most of the tribes on Nile banks in Khartoum, Berber or Dongola Provinces, and consequently to many other districts whither these have emigrated.

[6] Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 238) speaks of them ("'Auadîeh") as "far more considerable than the Ababde." For their subsections see sheet 3 of genealogical tree illustrating MS. "ABC."

[7] Their camel-brand is a well-known one: it consists of a "*Kiláda*" and an "'*amūd*" on the right side of the neck, the latter being above and at right angles to the former.

GA'ALIÍN proper is symbolized in the "*nisbas*" by the statement that the mother of Ghánim, ancestor of the latter, was a daughter of Rubáṭ[1].

XXII Now, curiously enough, though the "*nisbas*" do not link the RUBÁṬÁB and the MANÁṢÍR as closely together as one might expect, the latter and the ḌUBÁB appear as descended from brothers in spite of the fact that all of the ḌUBÁB live in the immediate vicinity of Gebel Daier in southern Kordofán and belong to the same NŪBA type, slightly arabicized, which is found among all the northern hills of Dár Nūba.

For the fact that the SAḲÁRANG[2] or kings of Teḳali and the royal families of Dárfūr and Wadái[3] are credited with a Ga'ali ancestry rank sycophancy is partly responsible, but it can hardly have caused the inclusion as GA'ALIÍN of the ḌUBÁB or the equally negroid TOMÁM and TUMBÁB who are neighbours of the latter. The appearance of these in the "*nisbas*" is in fact additional evidence of that early movement from the river of Nūbian Arabs, of the type generally included under the vague genealogical term "Ga'aliín," into the parts of Kordofán immediately north of the NŪBA hills, and the fusion of these with the NŪBA and others which has produced the present day tribes of Kordofán—BEDAYRÍA, GAWÁMA'A, etc., and accounts for the linguistic similarities between the BARÁBRA and the NŪBA.

XXIII The MÍRAFÁB were the original owners of Berber. Burckhardt says of them[4]: "A free born Meyrefab never marries a slave, whether Abyssinian or black, but always an Arab girl of his own or some neighbouring tribe."..."They are careful in maintaining the purity of their race." He describes them as a tall strong people of dark red-brown complexion, with oval face, straight nose, and distinctively Arab rather than Negroid in appearance. Of their characters he formed the lowest opinion:

> Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in almost every man's character....In the pursuit of gain they know no bounds, forgetting every divine and human law....I have never met with so bad a people, excepting perhaps those of Suakin.

None the less they were "of a very merry facetious temper, con-

[1] See, *e.g.*, BA, CLVI. Note, too, that "A 8" is counted a "Ga'ali" pedigree and its subject a Ga'ali, though the occurrence of Rubáṭ among his ancestors shews he belongs strictly to the Rubáṭáb. A similar line of argument applied to "A 5" denotes that the Mekábḍa are commonly counted Ga'aliín.

[2] This termination *-ang* is common in Dongoláwi place-names.

[3] See pp. 92 and 196, and cp. genealogical trees of the "A" group.

[4] *Nubia*, pp. 210, 211, 216, 217, 221, 224, 230. "The people Myrifab" and the "Rabotab" (Rubáṭáb), 'Aliáb, and "Macabrab" (Mukábiráb) are all mentioned, before Burckhardt's time, on Bruce's map.

tinually joking, laughing, and singing." They were "partly shepherds, and partly cultivators."

They had a "*Mek*" of their own, nominated by the FUNG of Sennár, and were said to be able to put 1000 freemen and 500 slaves into the field.

Sir C. Wilson reported that they were "sometimes classed as Já'alin, but the Já'alin repudiate them...it seems a question whether they are not of Bija origin[1]."

### (*e*) THE ḤÁKIMÁB

XXIV The ḤÁKIMÁB, who are commonly grouped in the "*nisbas*" with the GAWÁBRA, are a small tribe who are nevertheless regarded as much more distinctively GA'ALIÍN, in the limited sense of the term, than the GAWÁBRA[2].

Their hereditary "*meks*" ruled Arḳo Island and for long were the paramount princes of the surrounding country[3].

The germ from which the ḤÁKIMÁB are sprung was probably an immigrant Arab family who obtained the overlordship of the older inhabitants in like manner as did the RABÍ'A in the east and the AWLÁD KANZ round Aswán[4].

### (*f*) THE GAWÁBRA[5]

XXV The GAWÁBRA are the most northernly riverain tribe in the Sudan to whom the name Arab can be applied with any real legitimacy.

Their headquarters are at Badin Island, near the frontier between Dongola Province and Maḥass district, and they extend from the cataracts of Ḥannak to Tayti, including in their territories the islands of Arḳo and Maḳassir[6].

Burckhardt relates that[7] "after the promulgation of the Mohammedan creed"—presumably the allusion is to the thirteenth or fourteenth century—the GAWÁBRA and the GHARBÍA, a branch of the ZENÁTA Berbers, took possession of the country between the first and second cataracts and in time obtained some measure of ascendancy over the KANŪZ and other tribes who had preceded them.

In the reign of Selim I, very soon, that is, after the foundation in the south of the FUNG kingdom, the GHARBÍA, having fallen out with the GAWÁBRA and suffered heavily, sent an embassy to the Sultan and obtained from him a force of Bosnian auxiliaries. These ejected

[1] *Q.v.* p. 19. A small section still lives with the group of Bisháriín who inhabit Berber Province.

[2] *E.g.* the MS. A 1 is counted a "Ga'ali" pedigree and its subject a Ga'ali: the occurrence of Ḥákim as his ancestor shews that he belongs to the Ḥákimáb.

[3] Nicholls, p. 7.

[4] See pp. 149 and 150.

[5] *Sing.* "Gábri," *i.e.* "descendant of Gábir."

[6] Nicholls, p. 6.

[7] *Nubia*, pp. 133, 134.

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still they unanimously, and with something like scorn, assert that they are no Arabs, and have no descent from such a race[1]. But whence they come, or to what race they are allied, as they themselves equally deny a Nubian descent, their small kings, who have their pedigrees at their fingers, could not, or would not, tell us, much as we tried to get out of them their genealogy. They firmly maintain that they have been, from most distant times, the children of the soil, and have ever been the warriors of their race. One must not put any confidence, as other travellers have done, in what they have learnt from their priests, who are said to assert the contrary; though we have not heard it from them, for most of these...are of Arab families....Such pious fathers also fancy, although they may be of a totally different origin, that they are able, by means of Arabian descent, to claim a kind of relationship with the Prophet. Here starts up the interesting historical question, are these Schaigies, who perhaps really do owe their present name to some Arabian saint, a part of the emigrated warrior caste of Egypt, or the descendants of those discontented warriors who were hospitably received by the kings of Ethiopia? Their country, their proximity to old Meroë, which they perhaps protected against the barbarous south, and their own warlike spirit, agree with this tradition; as does also the fact, that amongst them has never existed any common superior chief, but all have ever lived free under their moluks; the present ruling families are perhaps the old Egyptian leader-race, who, holding the Ethiopian kings as their only lords, became, on the overthrow of that kingdom, independent princes, as the Macedonian generals did on the death of Alexander the Great. Their hair too is thinned, or kept cut short to the head, as cleanliness, so necessary in Egypt, may have demanded; and such a custom is contrary to Arab habits, and those of Nubia and Barabra also, although they have, in common with those races, incisions on the cheeks as marks of caste; among the Schaigies these are horizontal[2].

[1] The same is not true of the present day.

[2] The facial markings ("*shulukh*") of the Sháíḳía at once connect them with and dissociate them from the Ga'aliín. The term "*mushellakh Ga'ali*" ("marked with the '*shulukh*' of the Ga'aliín") denotes the use of three parallel vertical slashes on both cheeks. "*Mushellakh Sháíḳi*" denotes the use of three parallel horizontal slashes on both cheeks. These two face-brands—(and perhaps the H used by the Sultan of Dárfūr to mark his slaves)—are the only ones which are universally known throughout the Sudan, though both the Ga'ali and the Sháíḳi brands are not entirely confined to members of those tribes.

The origin of this custom of slashing the face is obscure. Burton (*Pilgrimage...*, II, 233, 234), describing the people of Mecca, says: "In most families male children, when forty days old, are taken to the Ka'abah, prayed over, and carried home, where the barber draws with a razor three parallel gashes down the fleshy portion of each cheek, from the exterior angles of the eyes almost to the corners of the mouth. These *Mashali*, as they are called, may be of modern date: the citizens declare that the custom was unknown to their ancestors. I am tempted to assign to it a high antiquity, and cannot but attribute a pagan origin to a custom still prevailing, despite all the interdictions of the Olema."

In a note on the above Burton adds: "The act is called 'tashrit,' or gashing.... The citizens told me that the custom arose from the necessity of preserving children from the kidnapping Persians, and that it is preserved as a mark of the Holy City. But its wide diffusion denotes an earlier origin. Mohammed expressly forbad his followers to mark the skin with scars. These 'beauty marks' are common to the

The custom mentioned by Cailliaud[1] might also be cited in support of Werne's theory. Speaking of an expedition to the negro country in the south of the Gezíra, he says:

Les Chaykyés avaient fait un mannequin figurant un homme, et censé représenter un des leurs: c'est une coutume établie parmi eux, d'enterrer un pareil mannequin au lieu où est fixé le terme de leurs grandes expéditions.

The giant statues hewn by the Pharaohs to mark the limits of their inruptions are obviously the prototypes of these manikins.

But the gap is too broad to be bridged with such facility: to allow an Egyptian origin for the SHÁÍḲÍA is an attractive suggestion, with points of some speciousness, but I should prefer to hazard a theory that the SHÁÍḲÍA are partly descended from the Bosnian, Albanian and Turkish mercenaries who since the conquest of Selim I (1517 A.D.) have done garrison duty and formed settlements in Nūbia just as Carian mercenaries did in the days of Psammetichus I, and to say that the obvious resemblance of type between them and the Turkish irregulars who lorded it over the Sudan till 1882 was in part a cause and in part an effect of the intermarriage that took place between the two[2].

XXVII The SHÁÍḲÍA country consists of the rich portion of the Nile valley which lies between Gebel Dayḳa in southern Dongola and the upstream end of the fourth cataract[3]. Within these limits in old days ruled four of their subordinate "*meks*," at Merowi[4], Ḥannak, Kagebi and 'Amri respectively. Until the latter part of the seventeenth century they were, like the rest of the Arabs, subject to the 'Abdullábi "*Mángil*" of Ḳerri, but about 1690 they were en-

nations in the regions to the West of the Red Sea. The Barabarah of Upper Egypt adorn their faces with scars exactly like the Meccans...." Cp. Wellsted, I, 389.

The fact that the Ga'aliín and the people of Mekka use the same brand is of course intimately connected with the claim of the former to be Beni 'Abbás, and might at first sight seem to point to the greater antiquity of the custom in Arabia than in the Sudan; but one cannot assume that the ancient custom of the Mekkans had not an African origin in the first instance. For a Nigerian instance see *Harvard Afr. Studies*, I, 87. Robertson Smith thinks these tribal markings may originally have been totem marks (*Kinship...*, pp. 214 ff.).

Professor Seligman (*Journ. R. A. I.* XLIII, 1913, pp. 646–8) thinks it "almost certain that the custom" [*s.c.* in the Sudan] "is derived from immigrant Arabs, and is not an ancient widely spread Hamitic custom." Obviously, however, the custom may be non-Hamitic and yet not derived originally from Mekka. For certain modern forms of cheek marking see Crowfoot, *Customs of the Rubáṭáb*, p. 131, and Jaussen, p. 376.

[1] III, 38.

[2] Cp. Sir C. Wilson (p. 14). "The military relationship was followed by a more intimate one, for the Turks took Shagíeh wives, and the sons all entered the Bashi Bazúk force...": and again "The riverain population" [*s.c.* of Sháíḳía] "...has sadly deteriorated through close intercourse with the Turk and Albanian Bashi Bazúks in the Egyptian service."

[3] Cp. Lepsius (*Discoveries...*, p. 259).

[4] Merowi was their capital in Burckhardt's day (*v. Nubia*, p. 68).

couraged by the dissensions which had arisen between the 'ABDULLÁB and the FUNG, and the mutiny of the troops[1], to make a bid for independence. Their leader in the revolt was 'Othmán wad Ḥammad[2], and the decisive action was fought opposite Dulga Island.

Henceforth the SHÁÍḲÍA were under no other rule than that of their own "*mek*"; but their access to power merely increased their turbulence and afforded wider scope for their predatory habits.

Poncet, in 1699, found that it was no longer safe for caravans to follow the river beyond Korti owing to the brigandage of the SHÁÍḲÍA, and that the desert route across the Bayūda had perforce to be followed[3].

During the eighteenth century the SHÁÍḲÍA extended their system of terrorization over Dongola province and the districts of Maḥass and Sukkót[4], thereby causing many of the older inhabitants to migrate to the west[5].

They seem to have met with little opposition and to have simply preyed without discrimination upon the less warlike tribes whose lands were sufficiently rich to excite their cupidity.

They also expanded into Kordofán, for in 1784–1785 we find "un nombre assez considérable de soldats de différents pays, tels que Dongoliens, Châydjiens, Kabâbych, Arabes Rézaygât," in the army with which Sultan Háshim attempted to invade Dárfūr[6].

Burckhardt describes them in 1813 as "a perfectly independent people" having "great wealth in corn and cattle."

They are renowned for their hospitality; and the person of their guest, or companion, is sacred....They all speak Arabic exclusively, and many of them write or read it. Their learned men are held in great respect by them; they have schools, wherein all the sciences are taught which form the course of Mohammedan study, mathematics and astronomy excepted[7].

At the same time Burckhardt describes their career of conquest and rapacity. In Dongola, he says[8],

The Arabs Sheygya, since they have been in possession of a share of the revenue, take from the ground irrigated by each wheel[9], four Mhourys[10] of Dhourra, two or three sheep, and a linen gown worth two dollars. The native kings take the same.

[1] *Q.v.* in MSS. D 3, 153, and D 7, XLII.
[2] For whom and various details see D 3, 236 and note thereto.
[3] Poncet, p. 15, and cp. D 3, 236 *note*.
[4] Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 43.
[5] Browne, p. 241: "For many years their" [the merchants of Kobbé in Dárfūr] "native countries Dongola, Mahass and all the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar ...have been the scene of devastation and bloodshed, having no settled government, but being continually torn by internal divisions, and harassed by the inroads of the Shaikié and other tribes of Arabs, who inhabit the region between the river and the Red Sea."
[6] El Tūnisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 67.
[7] *Nubia*, p. 70.
[8] *Ibid.* p. 66.
[9] *I.e.* "*sáḳia.*"
[10] A "*mhoury*" equals about 8 bushels (Burckhardt, *loc. cit.*).

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The SHÁÍḲÍA now atoned for many past misdeeds by the heroic defence they made of their country.

They had lived the companions of their horses, with the lance in their hand: they were to resign the former to strangers, and exchange the latter for harrows and pruning knives; and were to drive an ox round a sakie, instead of chasing an enemy across the desert. They had many Nubians settled in the country, whom they obliged to all the labours of cultivating the ground, and whom they treated as greatly their inferiors. They were now called upon to perform these labours, which they had been brought up to consider as servile, and were to expect no better treatment than that which they had been accustomed to exercise; they were to fall at once to slavery, not from liberty merely, but from tyranny; and again, besides their prejudices against white men generally, they had particular religious ones against the Osmanlies, to whom, in common with the Christians, they applied the term Dog[1].

However they were completely defeated at Korti and again at Gebel Dayḳa and they, their women, and their children were subjected to unheard-of brutalities at the hands of the Turks[2].

Mek Sibayr submitted, and some months later Sha'ūs followed suit. But warlike and restless as ever the SHÁÍḲÍA were not content to live as mere "*Felláḥín*," and a number of them, under the command of Sha'ūs, enlisted as irregulars in the Turkish army and accompanied it on its campaign against the FUNG in the Gezira[3]. When Ismá'il Pasha returned in 1822 the 'ADLÁNÁB were granted the lands of the 'ABDULLÁB who had revolted round Ḥalfáya; and others —'ADLÁNÁB, SOWÁRÁB and KADENKÁB—settled on either side of the Shablūka.

Throughout the Turkish *régime* the SHÁÍḲÍA continued to be faithful allies of the Turks, and in every expedition that was made against recalcitrant tribes they, with the MOGHÁRBA, formed the bulk of the irregular troops employed. They were similarly used for tax collecting, and their ruthless methods earned them an unenviable notoriety[4].

Even in the Dervish days they remained faithful to the Turks[5], but the identity of interests and similarity of methods existing between the two and the hatred which the SHÁÍḲÍA had earned for themselves made any other course difficult for them. After the fall of Khartoum the general amnesty to natives granted by the Mahdi was especially framed to exclude the SHÁÍḲÍA; and Slatin tells the

[1] Waddington and Hanbury, p. 99.
[2] Cailliaud, II, 32 *et seq.*, and Waddington and Hanbury, *loc. cit.*
[3] Cailliaud, II, 182. [4] Cp. Cuny, p. 184.
[5] It was they, for instance, who relieved Sennár in 1882 when it was attacked by Abu Róf.

tale[1] of a question asked in Omdurman—"What are the cheapest articles and the greatest drug in the market?"—The answer was "The yellow-skinned Egyptian, the SHÁÍḲÍA and the dog."

XXVIII At the present, true to type, many of them are to be found enlisted in camel-corps, mounted infantry, or police, maintaining their reputation as good fighters but truculent neighbours. Many others are to be found in the towns engaged in trade. As a tribe they are too disintegrated to have any considerable power, but they own broad lands in Dongola, Berber and Khartoum Provinces, they are still numerous throughout the Sudan, and are influential, whether for good or evil, by virtue of their superior individuality.

XXIX The subdivisions of the SHÁÍḲÍA are as follows[2]:

A. KADENKÁB
- 1. ḤANNAKÁB
  - (*a*) MAḤMŪDÁB
  - (*b*) NÁṢIRÁB
  - (*c*) ḲÓṬÁB
  - (*d*) SHERAYSHÁB
  - (*e*) ḤASANÁB
  - (*f*) SHELLÁLÍL[3]

  } Chiefly in Dongola and Berber Provinces
- 2. ṢALÁḤÁB. Chiefly in Dongola and Berber Provinces
- 3. ASSÓMÁB. Chiefly in Khartoum Province
- 4. 'ADLÁNÁB[4]
  - (*a*) MERAWI
  - (*b*) KAGEBI
  - (*c*) AWLÁD 'ALI
  - (*d*) MANOWWARÁB

  } Chiefly in Khartoum Province
- 5. ḤÁMDÁB
- 6. TULBUNÁB
- 7. GŪRUMÁB
- 8. ZUMÁMÁB
- 9. KURUSÁB
- 10. MARZŪḲÁB
- 11. SHRENKÁB
- 12. GHERÁRÁB
- 13. 'ÍSAYÁB
- 14. FARAGÁB[5]
- 15. FARAGULLÁB, or KARÁKIRA[5]

  } Chiefly in Dongola Province
- 16. RIGHAYMÁB. Chiefly in Dongola and Khartoum Provinces
- 17. KÓDÁB. Chiefly in Khartoum Province

[1] Slatin, Ch. x.

[2] The following list is chiefly compiled from Nicholls, pp. 46–51.

[3] *I.e.* "Men of the Cataract" ("*Shellál*" meaning "Cataract"). A section of practically the same name occurs among the Gawáma'a who appear to contain several families of Sháíḳía origin.

[4] Burckhardt mentions the 'Adlánáb as being the most powerful Sháíḳía tribe in 1813 (*Nubia*, p. 69). They are said to be Kenūz by origin (see Appendix to ABC) and also to be connected on the mother's side with the Fung (see D 5 (*c*)).

[5] Said to be children of Kadenka by a slave woman.

B. UM SÁLIM
1. YA'AḲŪBÁB[1]
2. BÁDIÁB
3. KALÁSHÍM
4. GĂDÁB
} Chiefly in Dongola Province

C. NÁFA'ÁB
1. GHÁSÍNÁB
2. ḌAYFULLÁB
} Chiefly in Dongola Province

D. SHELLŪFÁB
1. MUḤAMMADÁB
2. 'ALÍÁB
3. BÁDIÁB
} Chiefly in Dongola Province

E. ḤAWÁSHÁB
1. MAGANÁB
2. 'AḲRABÁB
} Chiefly in Dongola Province

F. 'ÓNÍA[2]
1. ḤASANÁB
2. DAWÁNÁB
} Chiefly in Berber Province

G. SOWÁRÁB[3]
1. KAFUNKA
2. ZULAYTÁB
3. ZARÁGNA
} Chiefly in Berber Province and the Bayūda
4. MISHINDIL. In Dongola and Berber Provinces and the Bayūda
5. ḤAMDULLÁB. In Dongola, Berber and Khartoum Provinces
6. TAMALAYK. In Dongola and Berber Provinces
7. 'ÁÍDÁB[4]
8. 'ANAYNÁB
} In Dongola and Khartoum Provinces

H. MARÍSÁB
1. 'ALÍTÁB. In Berber and Dongola Provinces

J. ḲURAYSHÁB
1. ABÁDÍD[5]
2. ṢÁLḤÁB
3. ABU NÁB
} In Dongola and Berber Provinces

K. 'ÁMIRÁB. In Dongola Province

L. BAY'ŪDÁB
1. 'AGÍBÁB
2. ḲOTÁTÍA
3. AMÁNÁB
} In Dongola Province

M. MARSÁB
1. ḤASANÁB
2. RAḤMÁB
} In Dongola Province

[1] A famous family of holy men. See D 3, 254, etc. The Beni Faḍl and Manáṣra of Kordofán claim the Ya'aḳūbáb to be Beni Faḍl by origin (see note on p. 108).

[2] Some of these are nomadic and graze their sheep in the Bayūda desert with the Ḥasánía. It is no doubt a branch of them that are known as Awlád 'Ón and now form a section of the Kabábísh further west. Other 'Ónía are nomadic on the east bank. For the legendary feud in the fifteenth century between the 'Ónía and the Ḥasanáb see D 5 (*c*).

[3] These also are partly nomadic, and a number of them have gone to form a section of the Hawáwír in Dongola province.

[4] Some 'Áídáb are probably incorporated in the 'Awáída section of Kabábísh: the two names are but different forms of the same word, meaning "descendants of 'Áíd." The 'Áídáb also appear as a section of the Bedayría of Dongola (see note on p. 199).

[5] A plural formed from Abu Dūd.

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To the NA'AMÁB belonged Zubayr Pasha Raḥma, the famous slave-dealer and conqueror of the Baḥr el Ghazál and Dárfūr.

In the FUNG period the whole GAMŪ'ÍA-GEMA'ÁB-GIMI'ÁB group, as well as the ZENÁRKHA, who are of quite different stock, were subject to the "*naḥás*" of the "*Mek*" of the GAMŪ'ÍA, and he again was nominally responsible for the tribute to the 'Abdullábi "*Mángil*" of el Ḥalfáya.

The SURŪRÁB section, however, were partially detached from the rest of the GAMŪ'ÍA and enjoyed a sufficient measure of favouritism from the FUNG king to free them from all practical control by the GAMŪ'ÍA "*Mek*." The headquarters of the latter were near J. el Ḥinayk, south of Omdurman[1].

The subdivisions of the GAMŪ'ÍA proper are as follows:

NÁÍLÁB[2]
ḤIRAYZÁB
NÁṢIRÁB
FITÍḤÁB[3]
- (*a*) TAKÁRÍR
- (*b*) AWLÁD IDRÍS
  - 1. GAMRÁB
  - 2. BÁTIÁB
- (*c*) ḤANÁTIRA
- (*d*) 'AGAYLÁB
- (*e*) SAYÁYÍK
- (*f*) UM 'ARAYKÍB

MUḴDÁB
AWLÁD ḤÁMID[4]
NÓFALÁB
SHÁÍḴÁB
ṢANḌÍḌÁB[5]
MANṢŪRÁB[5]
KHASHŪMÁB
RASHÁDÁB
MUḴWÁB
ḤÁGÁB
'ISÁWÍA[6]

NIFÍ'ÁB[7]
SA'ADÁB[7]
MATÁBÍR
GHOMÁRÁB[8]
ḤAMAYDÁNÍA
KARÁGÍG
IZERḴÁB
'ARAFWÁB
DÁNIÁB
MUḤAMMADÁB
BEGA[9]

[1] Browne in 1793 mentions them ("Gimmoyé") hereabouts (p. 459).
[2] The family of the present "*Mek*." See genealogical tree in ABC.
[3] The Fitíḥáb have almost ceased to be reckoned Gamū'ía though they are so strictly speaking. Their chief sheikh still calls himself a "*Mek*."
[4] The people of Aslang Island.
[5] It may be noted that these appear in the "*nisbas*" as Ga'aliín and merely cognate to the Gamū'ía: they have now definitely attached themselves to the latter tribe.
[6] Some of these have joined the Kabábísh and become a recognized section of that tribe.
[7] There are sections of Ga'aliín bearing the same name.
[8] Possibly connected with the Berber sub-tribe, the Ghomára.
[9] These are admittedly not true Gamū'ía but emigrants from the eastern desert. They are a very small community living south of Omdurman.

In appearance the GAMŪ'ÍA are darker and more negroid than the average Sudanese Arab. They themselves attribute the fact to the enormous number of slaves they owned prior to the Dervish days and the miscegenation that resulted. That the GAMŪ'ÍA owned many slaves is an established fact, and no doubt, as they allege, much of the thieving for which as a tribe they are so notorious is due to the slave families whom they include, but all and sundry are uniformly dark and semi-negroid and it is probable that the fact is due as much to ancient inter-marriage between free aboriginals of NŪBA stock and Arab immigrants as to the particular cause assigned.

XXXI THE GAWÁMA'A. The history of the GAWÁMA'A, in so far as they are Arabs, is similar to that of the BEDAYRÍA, but they are even less homogeneous than the latter, and the fact that taken as a whole they are darker in colour and more debased[1] in manners suggests that the original Arab nucleus of the tribe was small, and that in consequence it became more merged in the negro. There is no tribe of GAWÁMA'A in Dongola, but since the *Mek* of the MAḤASS in Burckhardt's[2] time was "of the family of Djama" (جامع), *i.e.* "Gáma'i," and the plural of "Gáma'i" is "Gawáma'a," and the chief section of GAWÁMA'A is specifically known as AWLÁD GÁMA'I, it is possible that the GAWÁMA'A are related to the MAḤASS[3].

The negro element in the GAWÁMA'A would appear to be largely Dárfūrian. We have seen earlier in this chapter that there is evidence that one of the GAWÁMA'A early in the seventeenth century was responsible for the foundation of the royal house of Wadái, and that a colony of GAWÁMA'A has been settled at Turra in Gebel Marra from much the same date. As to the numbers of them in Dárfūr from the seventeenth century until the nineteenth there is no information, but at the time of the Turkish conquest (1874) they were one of the chief tribes between el Fásher and the Kordofán border, and at the present day, though few remain in those parts, the GAWÁMA'A are represented by the DARÓK, a *soi-disant* Arab tribe of Ga'ali extraction, who used to live round Kebkebía in the west and have lately moved to Showái at the eastern foot of Gebel Marra, and by the AWLÁD MÁNA.

Cuny goes so far as to say[4] that the "Djoama se disent descendants

[1] Writing as I am of Arabs and not primarily of the older Sudanese stocks I use the phrase "more debased" as the equivalent of "less Arab."

[2] *Nubia*, p. 64.

[3] Ibn Khaldūn mentions a small branch of Beni Hilál, named Awlád Gáma'i who were for a time "*amírs*" of Ḳábis ("Gabes") in North Africa, but there is nothing beyond the name to connect them with the Gawáma'a of the Sudan. (See Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, p. 166, Bk. III.)

[4] P. 177.

des montagnes du Koudjara[1], et issus de Mesaabaat[2]," and though this was an overstatement, a comparison of two quotations, from Prout and el Tūnisi respectively, illustrate the Dárfūr connection of the GAWÁMA'A.

1. Prout[3].

Among the Gowameh (one of the old races) is found a still more singular practice. With them no girl has the right to marry until she shall have presented to her brother a child as his bondman. The father of this child she chooses when and where she will....

As a matter of fact Prout is not entirely accurate: the child used to go to the girl's maternal uncle and the phrase عانت خالها ("she has assisted her mother's brother") is still occasionally used as a pleasant euphemism.

2. El Tūnisi[4].

Plusieurs filles deviennent ainsi enceintes; en cela il n'y a ni honte ni déshonneur, même s'il y a en inceste. Les enfants, garçons ou filles, nés de ces relations sont mis sur le compte d'un oncle maternel. La fille qui en provient est mariée plus tard par cet oncle, qui profite alors du douaire que paye l'époux.

The connection of the GAWÁMA'A with Dárfūr is also evidenced by the fact that in Kordofán and Dárfūr alike many of them are believed to have the power of transmogrifying themselves into beasts of prey, a trait most commonly ascribed by native opinion to the FŪR tribes. It was mentioned in an earlier chapter that in Dárfūr these GAWÁMA'A—who turn themselves into hyaenas—are known as AWLÁD MÁNA. The Dárfūr strain, too, must have been considerably reinforced in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the MUSABA'ÁT and KUNGÁRA in turn dominated northern and central Kordofán[5].

During the earlier years of their residence in Kordofán the GAWÁMA'A were under the GHODIÁT, but as they increased in numbers and collected more and more scattered units into their

[1] *I.e.* the Kungára branch of the Fūr.
[2] *I.e.* the Musaba'át section of Kungára.
[3] Prout, p. 34.
[4] *Voy. au Dârfour*, p. 213. He is speaking of the Fūr apparently, but he does not as a rule differentiate very carefully between the Fūr and the inhabitants of Dárfūr. It is therefore possible that he refers to Gawáma'a settled in Dárfūr. It is more likely, however, that the Gawáma'a and the Fūr both used the custom and that for both it had a common origin. Cuny speaks of the custom, in rather different terms, as existing "chez la plupart des peuplades du Kordofan." The use of the particular phrase "'ánát Khálaha" (wrongly printed on p. 159, "ariatkal-hum" for "anat Khálhum") he attaches, like Prout, to the Gawáma'a ("Djoama"), but it was also used to a less extent among the Dár Ḥámid. (Cuny, pp. 158, 159, 173, 174.)
[5] Cp. Holroyd, p. 176. "The inhabitants of Kordofán belong to several tribes. The most numerous, called Gúnjárah" [*i.e.* Kungára], "consists of adherents of Sulṭán Faḍl; the second is called Meserbát" [*i.e.* Musaba'át].

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10. 'Udūsa
    (*a*) Um Bárak Ḥerayḥír
    (*b*) ,, Ḥammadowín
11. Ḥiádba
    (*a*) Awlád 'Alwán
    (*b*) Shadwánía
    (*c*) Um Tilayg
    (*d*) ,, Haydóbi
12. Awlád Mága
13. ,, Siḥayl
14. Hilayga
15. 'Arada
16. Kidil
17. Um Dóda
18. Um Wadíd
19. Awlád Sirayr
20. 'Alayḳa
21. Marázíḳ, or Awlád Marzūḳ
22. 'Othmániín
23. Raḥáḥíl
24. Awlád Ḳásim
25. ,, Mikayl
26. ,, 'Arūḳ
27. ,, 'Afūna
28. ,, Sherafía
29. ,, Sherak
30. ,, Tūtū
31. ,, Gamí'
32. Nimráía
33. Awlád Nūr
34. Um Ádam
35. Awlád Abu Gin

C. El Serayḥát
1. Deḳashma
2. Awlád Mūsa
3. ,, Abu Gindía
4. ,, Abu Sunnud
5. ,, Abu Ghulmán
6. Ḳura'án
7. Awlád Gimay'a
8. ,, Gamá'a
9. Balūliín
10. Habaysía
11. Awlád Farag
12. ,, Baḳḳári
13. ,, el Ḥurr
14. ,, el Shaykh
15. Ḳelálím
16. Awlád Ligám
17. Hamdánía
18. Awlád 'Awáli
19. Shibláwiín
20. Busáṭ
21. Awlád Um Ḳót
22. Meráḳíb
23. Kadobsi
24. Ba'áshím[1]
25. Nás el Aḥmar
26. Gedádín
27. Gabrínín
28. Ramaḍáni
29. Awlád Habíla
30. Um Ismá'íl
31. Awlád 'Agūb
32. ,, Rufá'a
33. Um Kilmán
34. Awlád Abu Sin
35. ,, Surūr
36. ,, 'Alwán[2]
37. ,, Abu Ḥowa
38. 'Aríd
39. Um Tidim

D. Awlád Murg[3]
1. Um Kelayb
2. Um Barakát
3. Um Dhiáb
4. Um Fáris
5. Nugára

[1] Ba'áshím is the plural of Ba'ashóm, a jackal.
[2] The same name occurs among the Ṭerayfía.
[3] The Awlád Murg (and the Gamría) were once subject to the Serayḥát or the Awlád Gáma'i. They live north of Bára on the confines of Dár Ḥámid. It is noteworthy that of the five subsections four are named after animals, etc.: "Kelayb" is a puppy, "Dhiáb" are "wolves," "Fáris" is a mare: "Nugára" is a small war-drum. This naming of subtribes after animals, etc., is no doubt of totemistic origin

E. El Gamría
1. Awlád Malik
2. Biday
3. Awlád Abu Timám
4. Ebay'a
5. Awlád Ḥasan
6. 'Adlán
7. 'Abd el Gibár
8. Abu Ḥalíma
9. Awlád Sūḳ
10. „ Mūmin
11. Ḳeráfít

F. El Ghanaymía[1]
1. Awlád Ṣáliḥ
2. „ 'Ísa
3. Um Shiḳil
4. Merámra[2]
5. Mágidía[3]
6. Awlád Ḥamayd

G. El Faḍaylía
1. Ba'ígáb
2. Awlád Tūri
3. Faṭaháwi[4]
4. 'Abídía
5. Maḥmūdi[4]
6. Tunuwi[4]
7. Bedláwi[4]
8. Tibráwi[4]
9. Beráḳít (Berághíth?[5])
10. Magaylisáb
11. Ḥalímáb
12. Izayriḳáb
13. 'Agáki[4], or 'Agágík

## II. El Gimá'ía

A. El Ga'afiría
1. Awlád 'Adi
2. „ Um Raḥmán
3. Nálía
4. Boṭránía
5. Ḥawámda
6. Awlád Ḳádim
7. Awlád Zuayd
8. Geráráb
9. Masíkháb
10. Shikayt
11. Shibaylía
12. Nuḳária
13. Ridaysáb
14. Zurḳáb
15. Awlád Rahūda
16. „ Merri'i
17. „ Háshim
18. Danaksi
19. Haysinna
20. Ḳoṭáḳíṭ
21. Muftáḥ
22. Bishr
23. Awlád Ḥáshi
24. Ḥantūshi[4]

B. El Gemámla
1. Awlád Maṭlūt
(*a*) Awlád Raḥayma
(*b*) „ Mūsa
(*c*) „ Ádam
(*d*) Awlád Muḥammad
(*e*) „ Timsáḥ
(*f*) Ṣubayḥ
(*g*) Awlád 'Abd el Ḥamíd

and is common in the Sudan: cp. "Ba'áshím" among the Serayḥát on p. 226. Among the "Nūba" of northern Kordofán we find subtribes named respectively after cattle, rats, sheep, wood and horses: see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 97. Cp., too, the case of certain Fūr subtribes (p. 94).

[1] These have been in turn subject to the Faḍaylía and the Ṭerayfía. The name denotes "lambs."

[2] Cp. Dár Ḥámid subtribes.

[3] See later, p. 231.

[4] These are singular, not plural forms.

[5] Shrimps, or fleas (?).

2. AWLÁD EL FEKI EL AṬRASH
   (*a*) AWLÁD 'ABDULLA
   (*b*) „ EL MULŪK
   (*c*) GAḲÍMÍA
   (*d*) ḤELAYWÍN
   (*e*) AWLÁD SHÁKHI
   (*f*) ADHŪNA
3. 'ABI
4. SHA'ÁLIBI

5. AWLÁD ABU SHARR
6. „ BISHÁRA
7. „ EL ḤÓSH
8. „ HABŪD
9. „ GAFŪN
10. „ RIKÁB
11. „ 'AFÁN
12. DUSHAYNÁB

C. AWLÁD BÍKA
1. TUAYMÁT
   (*a*) FATÁḤA
   (*b*) ABU ÁSHAY'
   (*c*) 'AṬÍTULLA
   (*d*) AWLÁD MANNA
2. GHUBAYSHÁB
3. 'ANÁḲAR
4. AWLÁD SHAYN
5. 'ATŪR
6. UM KUDI
7. AWLÁD MASAKH
8. UM SHENAB

XXXIII The word "GAWÁMA'A" being merely a plural formed from Gáma'i it seems probable that the first mentioned of all the above sections represents the true nucleus of the tribe. Its sheikh is commonly considered the theoretical head of the tribe, the holder of the "*naḥás*."

The recurrence of uncommon tribal names is a useful guide if used with discretion, and from this source we obtain several clues as to the tribes from which the subsections of the GAWÁMA'A were drawn.

Among the ḤOMRÁN we note MASHÁÍKHA and BELŪḤ: the latter are possibly connected with the BELŪ of the east, the former are akin to the MESALLAMÍA. Among the ṬERAYFÍA, who as a whole are closely connected with the BEDAYRÍA, are AWLÁD SHÁÍḲ (*i.e.* SHÁÍḲÍA (?)), SHELLÁLIÍN (in the form "SHELLÁLÍL" a section of SHÁÍḲÍA) and MARÁZÍḲ (a variant of "MARZŪḲÁB," also a section of SHÁÍḲÍA).

Among the SERAYḤÁṬ are ḲURA'ÁN, SHIBLÁWIÍN (who are presumably connected with the "SHIBLA" of the "*nisbas*") and BA'ÁSHÍM; and the SERAYḤÁT, taken as a whole, are properly a separate unit in the GA'ALIÍN congeries and closely connected with the MÍRAFÁB and MANÁṢÍR on the river. They are said to have entered Kordofán only six generations ago.

Among the GHANAYMÍA we find MERÁMRA, *i.e.* DÁR ḤÁMID, and MÁGIDÍA.

Among the GA'AFIRÍA are GERÁRÁB, perhaps BENI GERÁR; and among the GEMÁMLA are DUSHAYNÁB, of whom others are with the GEMA'ÁB.

The TUAYMÁT, it is said, are KAWÁHLA.

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their herds and broke up the tribe. Some were sent to Omdurman and others settled in Sennár Province[1].

At the reoccupation such GIMA'A as survived returned to the west bank of the White Nile and now, in spite of all, they are probably as numerous as they were before the Mahdia.

Some of the 'ABBAYSÁB branch own camels and have attached themselves to the KAWÁHLA. The rest are cattle and sheep owners. They are subdivided as follows[2]:

A. MANÁTA
1. BÓL[3] MUḤAMMAD
2. „ NAṢR
3. WALAD ḤAMMAD
4. „ ḤASAN

B. 'ASHAYSH
1. 'ABBAYSÁB
(*a*) AMŪMÍN
(*b*) UM FEZÁRI
(*c*) BRAYSHÁB
(*d*) SAYLÁB
(*e*) KAMBŪIÁB
(*f*) GŪDA
(*g*) UM GÍA (GÍR?)
(*h*) KENÁNA
2. GAHAKA
(*a*) MESHAMÍR
(*b*) 'AIÁL 'UḲLA
(*c*) „ KŪKŪ
(*d*) DERANÁB
(*e*) KANÁBÍT
(*f*) 'AIÁL SÁRIN
(*g*) „ ÁDAM
(*h*) SIÁGH
(*j*) UM DANŪD
(*k*) 'AIÁL MUḤAMMAD
3. MESADÁB
4. DÁR AWÁB
5. ROWÁSHDA
6. HULUF
7. ṬÍNA

The most powerful and numerous of these sections are the BÓL MUḤAMMAD and the BÓL NAṢR, and it is said the former is nearly twice the size of the latter.

The 'ASHAYSH are not very numerous but are more homogeneous.

[1] Slatin, Chaps. XI and XVI.

[2] The spelling of these names may not in all cases be entirely accurate: they were obtained at second hand.

[3] The word "ból" (بول) properly means "urine." It is evidently used as the equivalent of "seed."

### (*j*) THE MÁGIDÍA AND KURTÁN

XXXVI The MÁGIDÍA or MÁÍDÍA[1] are an almost extinct tribe, and the KURTÁN, so far as I know, entirely so. The former are said to have occupied the hills near Kagmár in Kordofán about the close of the seventeenth century[2], and to have been driven thence eastwards by the immigrating ZAGHÁWA.

There appear also to be remnants of them among the NŪBA of Gebel Abu Tubr, between Kagmár and the river[3], and Cailliaud mentions them in 1821 on the west bank of the White Nile above Khartoum[4].

From MS. D 3 it seems there was also one small colony of them at least on the Blue Nile[5].

For the rest, the MÁGIDÍA only seem to survive as a branch of the GAWÁMA'A-GHANAYMÍA.

### (*k*) THE GA'ALIÍN PROPER

XXXVII We now come to the GA'ALIÍN proper, the people, that is, who are called GA'ALIÍN and nothing else at the present.

Their riverain "*dár*" is between the mouth of the Atbara and the Shablūka cataract.

An examination of the "*nisbas*" shews that they are distinctly junior members of the great Ga'ali fraternity, in the sense that all the eponymous ancestors of their subsections lived within the last twelve generations or less, or within, say, 400 years of the present day[6]. Now a period of 400 years brings us back approximately to the time of el Samarḳandi, the great provider of genealogies, *i.e.* to the date of the great Arab-FUNG movement which resulted in the formation of the kingdom of Sennár.

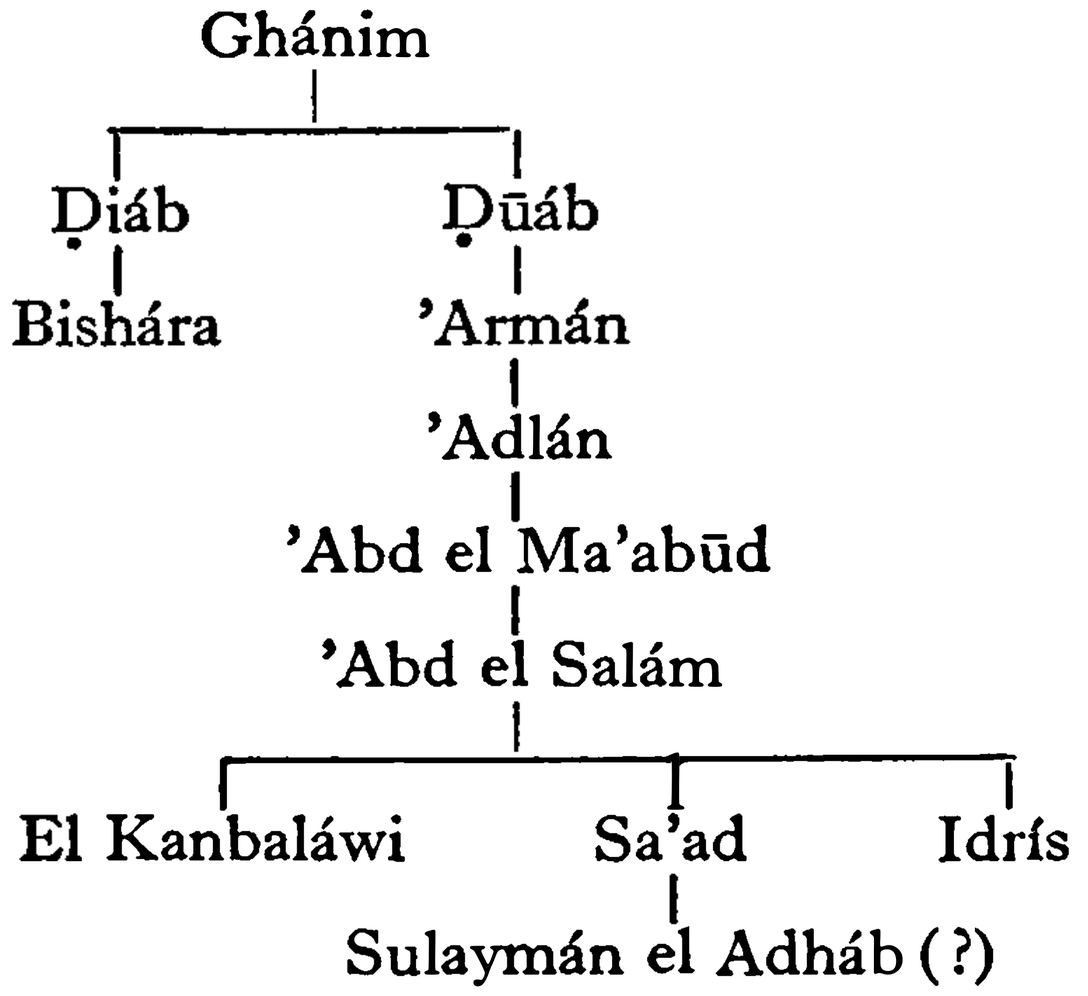
It seems that at the beginning of the sixteenth century certain chieftains calling themselves pure Arabs, however freely their forebears had intermarried with the Nūbians, were settled on the Nile with their families north of the Shablūka, and had established for themselves a position of authority and overlordship, as the RABÍ'A and GUHAYNA had done some centuries before in the north-east, and that these chieftains were named 'Armán and Abu Khamsín[7], sons of

[1] See note to D 3, 60. [2] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 109.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 101. [4] Cailliaud, III, 94. [5] See MS. D 3, 108, 200 and 204.
[6] A 1, A 2, A 6 and A 10 make Serrár, the "general ancestor," live eighteen or nineteen generations ago. Between him and 'Armán intervene five generations (see trees to BA and A 11); *i.e.* 'Armán's sons and grandsons, who are the eponymous ancestors of most of the Ga'aliín tribes proper lived twelve generations ago, or less. See in particular A 10, the pedigree of the Grand Mufti, which confirms the above.
[7] Or perhaps it was their sons or grandsons who were contemporaries of el Samarḳandi. It is useless to be over-dogmatic, but a comparison of the "A" MSS. suggests that the generations subsequent to 'Armán were added by a later hand.

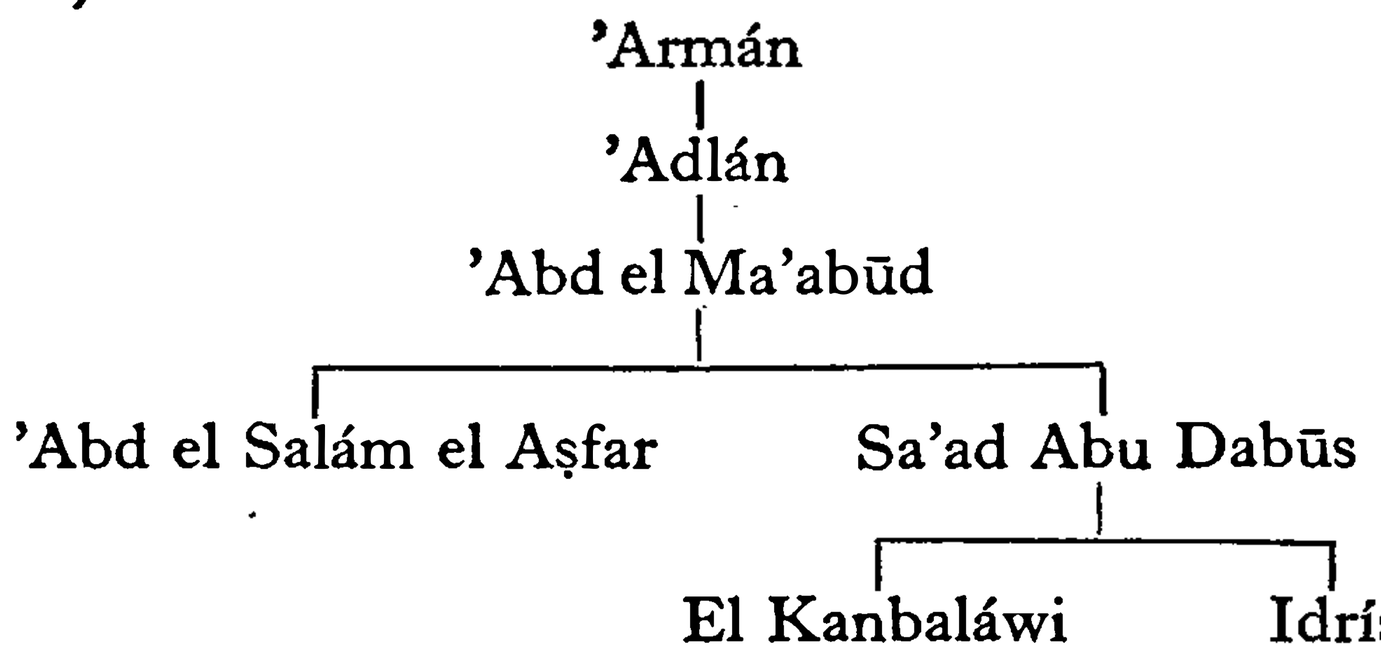
Ḍūáb ibn Ghánim[1]. El Samarḳandi included them in his genealogical treatise as descended from the BENI 'ABBÁS, and not only their own children—and apparently these were numerous—but probably all their dependants in subsequent ages claimed a like origin.

XXXVIII About the close of the sixteenth century[2] the GA'ALIÍN proper were under Sa'ad ibn Dabūs, the eponymous ancestor of the SA'ADÁB section, who appears in the "*nisbas*[3]" as grandson or great-grandson of 'Adlán the son of 'Armán; and it is from this period that the real history of the GA'ALIÍN begins.

Cailliaud[4] gives a "chronology of the princes of Shendi" beginning with "Sadâb Dabbous" and ending with Nimr, the *Mek* who murdered Ismá'il Pasha in 1822, but if any reliance is to be placed on the "*nisbas*"—allowing plentiful inaccuracies of detail—this chronology is hopelessly incorrect in its earlier stages. For instance, A 11 gives the relationships as follows:




and ABC (tree 2) as follows:




[1] This Ḍūáb in the MSS. has a brother Ḍiáb. The name Ḍiáb ibn Ghánim occurs in the Abu Zayd cycle of romances as that of one of the Beni Hilál notables (see Burton, *Land of Midian*, II, 233, and Ibn Khaldūn, ed. ar. Vol. 6, pp. 14 and 16); but there is no evidence that this is more than a mere coincidence.

[2] I arrive at this date by accepting as roughly correct the 235 years (*i.e.* about 228 solar years) said by Cailliaud (III, 106) to have elapsed in 1821 since the accession of Sa'ad el Dabūs. It will be seen that this computation agrees fairly closely with that made already on other grounds for the date of 'Armán.

[3] See trees to A 11 and ABC 2.

[4] *Loc. cit.*

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family on this account was described by Burckhardt[1] as "of the same tribe as" the 'ABDULLÁB—and, on the other, we know from Bruce that in his day—before the revolt of Muḥammad wad Nimr, that is—Shendi was ruled by a woman, the sister of Wad 'Agíb (the 'Abdullábi "*mángil*") and mother of Idris wad el Fahl, who in 1772 was the heir-apparent to the sheikhship[2].

In all probability the SA'ADÁB in their earlier stages were under the 'ABDULLÁB suzerainty; and that the rule of the SA'ADÁB may have been nominal rather than effective is suggested by Burckhardt's remark[3] concerning some villages between Dámer and Shendi in 1814:

> They are inhabited by the Arabs Mekaberab, who were formerly tributary to the chiefs of Shendy, but who have long since asserted their freedom, and now live partly upon the produce of their fields, and partly by robbery; they are at war with all their neighbours, and having acquired a reputation for superior valour, are much dreaded by them[4].

Later, it appears[5], the NIFÍ'ÁB, the NÁFA'ÁB and the KARÁKISA entertained designs of seizing the headship from the AWLÁD NIMR, but an agreement was finally reached whereby the latter and the NÁFA'ÁB took the east bank and the remainder obtained the west bank of the river and called themselves the SA'ADÁB proper.

In Burckhardt's day the GA'ALIÍN were still a nomadic rather than a sedentary tribe[6]. They had cultivation on the river but their subtribes roamed up the Atbara and over the Buṭána[7].

> "The true Djaalein Bedouins," says the traveller, "who come from the eastern desert are much fairer-skinned than the inhabitants of the banks of the Nile....I was much struck with the physiognomy of many of these Djaaleins, who had exactly the countenance and expression of features of the Bedouins of eastern Arabia[8]."

XXXIX At present the GA'ALIÍN are very widely distributed as small traders and colonists and employées, though the nucleus of the tribe remain cultivators and herdsmen between the Shablūka and the Atbara[9].

They suffered enormous losses in the Dervish days: thousands

[1] *Nūbia*, p. 268.
[2] Note the matrilinear system still in force.
[3] P. 272.
[4] He hazards that perhaps they are the Megaberi of Strabo.
[5] See A II, LXV.
[6] Burckhardt, p. 279.
[7] Burckhardt, p. 265.
[8] Burckhardt, p. 296.
[9] Sheikh Ibráhím Muḥammad Feraḥ of the wealthy Nifí'áb section calls himself "Sheikh of all the Ga'aliín" and is accepted in theory by a certain number of the tribe, but his claim is only based on events dating from the Dervish days and is practically negligible. Such of the Ga'aliín as are not settled outside their own "*dár*" under the sheikhs of the local tribes, or as independent traders, etc., are under their respective sectional *'omdas*.

fell, in particular at Toski and Tókar[1], and whole villages of them perished of hunger in the terrible famine of 1889[2]. What was left of their power as a tribal unit was ended in 1897, when, on the approach of the British forces, they projected a rising against the Dervishes. The "*amír*" Maḥmūd learnt of their intention, attacked and sacked their headquarters at Metemma and slew over 2000 of them[3].

In so far as the Ga'aliín remain cultivators and herdsmen in their own "*dár*," and have not taken to trade in the towns, they preserve much the same degree of tribal organization as do their neighbours the BAṬÁḤÍN, SHUKRÍA, etc. The sections (NÁFA'ÁB, 'ÁLÍÁB, etc.) which graze their herds and sow their crops in the dry watercourses of the ancient Island of Meroe are each independent of the other with no single head-sheikh. The families who cultivate the Nile banks live the ordinary life of the sedentary villager and send such flocks as they possess eastwards in charge of their semi-nomadic kinsfolk.

In addition, however, to these GA'ALIÍN and the town-dwelling community there are numerous isolated colonies of GA'ALIÍN settled at intervals along the Blue and White Niles as far south as Ḳeḍáref and Káwa, and others, though fewer, in the inland provinces. These are all sedentary, and unimportant.

XL To sum up, one may say that the word GA'ALIÍN is used in two senses: in the first and widest sense it denotes all the loosely connected group of tribes on the river and inland, Danágla and others, who claim an 'Abbásid descent: in the second it is limited to the riverain people whose ancestor was Ḍūáb ibn Ghánim and whose chief habitat has been between the mouth of the Atbara and the Shablūka cataract since the beginning of the sixteenth century, if not for longer.

In so far as the GA'ALIÍN congeries can be regarded as a single whole its homogeneity consists in the common Berberine or Nūbian strain that exists in a very varying proportion in all its component parts.

There is also a strong infusion of Arab blood—more particularly in the GA'ALIÍN proper—but the error into which the native genealogists have wilfully slipped consists in ignoring the Nūbian element and finding the common race factor of the GA'ALIÍN in the tribe of ḲURAYSH. The facts being as they are, it is impossible to specify any particular tribe of Arabia as being that to which the Arab element in the composition of the GA'ALIÍN group can be attributed in any exclusive sense.

[1] Slatin, Ch. XVI. [2] Slatin, Ch. XIII.
[3] *Anglo-Egypt. Sudan*, I, 45; Budge, II, 271.

We have seen that numbers of Ḳuraysh entered the Sudan at various times, but Ḳuraysh were only one tribe among scores of others, and the comprehensive claim of the Ga'aliín to belong to one special branch of Ḳuraysh, the Beni 'Abbás, would be difficult indeed to substantiate. Being themselves in some doubt as to the facts of the matter they had the less hesitation in making a bold throw for distinction.

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Guhani was not of the tribe of GUHAYNA at all[1], and hence one is tempted at first to say that the tribes claiming descent from him are unlikely to be GUHAYNA. The conclusion would be false however, for the claim to be GUHAYNA preceded the claim to be the children of 'Abdulla el Guhani and was based on rather surer foundations. The dragging in of 'Abdulla el Guhani was merely the ill-advised expedient of a later generation.

II Before dealing with the tribes that compose the GUHAYNA group it is as well to recall several facts: that the true GUHAYNA of Arabia have occupied the neighbourhood of Yanbu' for at least 1300 years; that there has been immigration of varying volume from this part of the Ḥegáz at every period known to history; that many GUHAYNA took part in the invasion of Egypt; that a large force of them in the ninth century invaded the Eastern Desert in company with the RABÍ'A; that by the middle of the thirteenth century they were said to have "conquered the countries inhabited by the Nūbians" and to be settled between Aswán, Nūbia and Abyssinia; and that another large body of them at the beginning of the fifteenth century was still in Upper Egypt[2].

There is therefore no reason to doubt that by the FUNG period there was a very large number of GUHAYNA—"fifty-two tribes" say the "*nisbas*[3]"—on the Blue Nile near Sóba, and even more in the west, and that the great majority of the tribes which claim to be or are alleged to be descended from 'Abdulla el Guhani are ultimately connected with the GUHAYNA.

The following are the chief of these at the present day[4]:

RUFÁ'A (including ḲAWÁSMA, 'ABDULLÁB, etc.)
LAḤÁWIÍN
'AWÁMRA, KHAWÁLDA, etc.
SHUKRÍA
DÁR ḤÁMID
ZAYÁDÍA
BENI GERÁR
BAZA'A
SHENÁBLA
MA'ÁLIA
} The "FEZÁRA"

[1] See note to BA, LVIII, for full details.

[2] See Part I, Chaps. 2 and 3. The term no doubt included a proportion of neighbouring tribesmen who were joined to the Guhayna by the fortunes of war and community of aims.

[3] BA, CXXIII.

[4] Many other "Guhayna" tribes of less importance are omitted. They can be found by reference to the trees of, *e.g.*, BA. One or two tribes, *e.g.* the Moghárba, are included because they appear as Guhayna in the "*nisbas*" and seem to be related to the rest of that group in spite of the fact that they do not call themselves Guhayna.

DWAYḤ
MESALLAMÍA
The BAḴḴÁRA tribes
MAḤÁMÍD, MAHRÍA, etc.
KABÁBÍSH (certain sections only)
MOGHÁRBA
ḤAMAR

The KABÁBÍSH, the ḤAMAR, the BAḴḴÁRA, the MAḤÁMÍD group and the "FEZÁRA" group of the above are all in Kordofán or west of it; the remainder are nearly all in the Gezira or east of it.

### (*a*) THE RUFÁ'A GROUP, THE GUHAYNA PROPER, THE LAḤÁWIÍN, THE 'ABDULLÁB AND THE INḴERRIÁB

III THE RUFÁ'A. The RUFÁ'A, descendants of Ráfa'i, that is, generally appear in the "*nisbas*" among the GUHAYNA group and are said to have sojourned among the BEGA and in Abyssinia before moving down to the valley of the Nile[1]. This tradition is corroborative of the statement quoted by Quatremère[2] that in 680 A.H. (1281 A.D.) a battle was fought between the GUHAYNA and the RUFÁ'A in the desert of 'Aidháb. The two tribes mentioned have been close neighbours for many generations, not only in Africa but also in Arabia: Burckhardt, writing in 1814, says[3]:

> While I was at Shendy an Arabian came from Souakin, who was of the tribe of Refaay (رفاعي), which is related to the great tribe of Djeheyne (جهينة), near Yembo; he told me that he had heard that there were descendants of his own tribe of Refaay settled to the south of Sennaar, and that he intended to visit them...as they had always manifested kindness to their relatives in the Hedjaz, especially to such as had undertaken the journey for the purpose of saluting them.

The RUFÁ'A of the Sudan themselves now claim to be distinct from the GUHAYNA in origin, though admitting that much intermarriage has been taking place for centuries, and perfunctorily claim descent from a line of Sayyids. This however may partly be due to the fact that the 'ARAKIÍN, many of whom are "holy men," claim to be ASHRÁF, and the RUFÁ'A are placed in the dilemma of having either to repudiate the claim of the 'ARAKIÍN to be ASHRÁF or deny the fact that the 'ARAKIÍN are a branch of the RUFÁ'A. They have chosen the obvious course of saying that the RUFÁ'A are all ASHRÁF[4]. The fact of the matter is that *soi-disant* ASHRÁF have intermarried with them; but, generally speaking, they are a composite tribe containing more

[1] See A 2, XXXV, A 11, LVIII, D 6, XXXV.
[2] Vol. II, p. 172, quoting MS. Arab 672, p. 421.
[3] *Nubia*, p. 323.
[4] See later *sub* 'Arakiín.

of the GUHAYNA element than any other[1]. When I asked one of their chief men, 'Agab Abu Gin, whether the RUFÁ'A were GUHAYNA or ASHRÁF his reply was "It is said we are Ashráf, but God knows: if we are not Ashráf we are certainly GUHAYNA."

Maḳrízi calls the RUFÁ'A a branch of the BENI HILÁL[2], and it will be noticed that one section of them in the Sudan is called the HILÁLIA. It is possible therefore that the legend of Abu Zayd el Hiláli crossing the Blue Nile near the site of the village of Rufá'a is connected with the southern movement of the RUFÁ'A from the Eastern Desert to the Blue Nile.

IV In the FUNG days the RUFÁ'A were almost entirely nomadic and their headquarters were Sennár, Arbagi, and el Ṭalḥa. The village of Rufá'a, after which a district is now named, was not founded until the northern half of the tribe had begun to relinquish the purely pastoral life.

At present the habitat of the RUFÁ'A is along the Blue Nile from its embouchure to south of Singa. They fall into two main groups. Of these the northern group are settled in villages in the Blue Nile Province: here in a single village one sometimes finds a medley of RUFÁ'A, MAḤASS, GA'ALIÍN, DANÁGLA and others: in other villages the whole population is composed of a single section of RUFÁ'A. They and the MAḤASS are generally regarded as the ancestral tribal owners of the riverain land in the northern districts of the Blue Nile Province, and the claim of the RUFÁ'A at least is probably well founded, for it must be remembered that though the 'ABDULLÁB, whose eponymous ancestor four centuries ago helped 'Omára Dūnḳas to found the kingdom of Sennár, have since that time been an entirely independent tribe, they were properly RUFÁ'A of the ḲAWÁSMA section, and their sphere extended from north of the junction of the Niles southwards to Arbagi.

V The southern branch of the RUFÁ'A is more nomadic than sedentary and is often referred to by other tribes simply as the "GUHAYNA" or "Guhayna cl 'Ól" ("feckless Guhayna")[3]. These are divided into RUFÁ'A EL SHARḲ (Eastern RUFÁ'A), or NÁS ABU GIN, and RUFÁ'A EL HUOI (Rufá'a of the Gezira, *i.e.* Western RUFÁ'A), or NÁS ABU RÓF. These alternative names, "Abu Gin's folk" and "Abu Róf's folk," are given them because for many generations they have been ruled

[1] Sir C. Wilson speaks of them (*loc. cit.*) as a branch of Guhayna.

[2] Quatremère, II, 201. The Beni Sulaym, who accompanied the Beni Hilál in their great migration, also contained a section called Rufá'a (Quatremère, II, 214).

[3] The proverb says "Guhayna el 'Ól, el 'ashira fóḳ zól," *i.e.* "feckless Guhayna, ten of them all at one man." They are supposed to be particularly excitable, irresponsible and hasty.

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Most of the Ḳawásma proper are now west of Sennár and on the Dinder[1].

B. 'Arakiín

1. Feragiín

The 'Arakiín now claim to be of Sherífi descent[2] through a series of holy men, biographies of whom will be found in the MS. "D 3." They cultivate in the south of the Blue Nile Province, in Sennár and in el Ma'atūḳ district, and a halo of sanctity still surrounds them. Their headquarters are at Abu Ḥaráz.

The small subtribe of Feragiín live with the Gamū'ía south of Omdurman. In Fung days they were under the "*naḥás*" of Sheikh Ḥammad el Níl el 'Araki, and they consider themselves 'Arakiín on both sides.

C. 'Isaylát

1. Widi'áb
2. Sinhayráb[3]
3. Ḥasanáb
4. Ma'ălía
5. Gabráb

There is a group of villages on the east bank of the Blue Nile called 'Isaylát. By many the 'Isaylát are held to be a section of the Ḥammada.

D. Nóláb

E. Zenáfla. A colony of these is said to have lived at Kalkól near el Kámlin before the coming of the Maḥass. But I have also heard them spoken of as "Ghuzz," *i.e.* Mamlūk or Bosnian stock and not Rufá'a at all.

F. Ḥagágáb

G. Beshákira. There is a village on either side of the river in el Kámlín district called after them.

H. Shibaylát

J. Ḥaláwiín

These are chiefly in Rufa'a district and Sennár, and are a large and turbulent section, much *feki*-ridden. In a list of Arab tribes in Egypt, east of the Nile, Sir G. Wilkinson includes "Allowéen," who are probably a branch of the same people, between Egypt and Petraea and north of Sinai. (See *Modern Egypt and Thebes*, II, 380.)

K. Feraḥáb

L. Ma'aḍíḍ. In Rufá'a district and Sennár.

M. Faraḍiín[4]

N. Faragáb. A few live in Káwa district on the White Nile.

[1] Several others of the Rufá'a sections given below are often also included as Ḳawásma: in fact, half the tribe is popularly so considered: the reason is that they were for long under the 'Abdulláb chieftainship.

[2] Cp. MS. C 9, but for the real facts see D 1, CI.

[3] Corrupted into "Sirhaynáb."

[4] Probably connected with the Ibráhím ibn 'Abūdi el Faraḍi whose biography is numbered 135 in D 3.

O. Ṭowál, or Ṭowáliín. Chiefly in el Ma'atūḳ and Káwa districts. They are said to be a branch of the Ḥammada.

P. Shabárḳa

As regards this section it is interesting to note that Shabárḳa also occur in the northern hills of Kordofán[1], where they are called Shaberḳo and are said to have immigrated from the Blue Nile in ancient days and to have spread even further westwards into Dárfūr. They are also said, at el Ḥaráza, to be connected with the Ṭowál section of Kabábísh. As the Ṭowál also appear in the list of Rufá'a tribes, and their name and that of the Shabárḳa were given me one after the other, it is a fair presumption that some of the Rufá'a passed into Kordofán and mixed, some with the Nūba of el Ḥaráza and some with the nomads north-west of them, while others reached Dárfūr.

That there were also cases of movement in the opposite direction is evidenced by the existence of two villages on the Nile called "el Nūba," one near el Kámlín and one north of Khartoum, both of which are said to have been formed by colonies from el Ḥaráza. In the case of the former village it is said seven Nūba from Kordofán were allotted land there by the Fung and their daughters were married by Arabs.

Q. Hilálía

R. 'Aḳaliín. This subtribe was all but wiped out by the famine of 1889[2], but it has recovered and large numbers now live round Sennár and in Mesallamia district, with scattered villages in the Gezira and on the White Nile.

S. Beni Ḥasán[3]

1. Wad Balūla
2. 'Atámla. Abu Róf's own family.
3. Wad Abu Sirwál

etc.

Their habitat is south of el Manáḳil and between Singa and Roṣayreṣ.

T. Beni Ḥusayn[3]. They live with the Beni Ḥasán and west of them to the White Nile.

U. Ḥammada[3]

1. Raḥáḥla
2. Ghuzz
3. Ribay'át

These are the "Nás Abu Gin" proper. In Fung days their chief had the rank of "*Mángil*" and the right of wearing the two-horned "*taḳia*." In 1889 they and the 'Aḳaliín suffered equally[4]. Their habitat is on the Rahad and the Dinder. The capital of the Abu Gin was at Deberki.

V. 'Uláṭiín[3]. Semi-nomadic. They have villages in the east and the west of the Gezíra.

W. Zamálṭa[3]

1. Kamátír[3]

[1] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 97.

[2] Slatin, Ch. XIII.

[3] These sections are closely connected. Almost all are in Sennár Province, in the neighbourhood of Singa.

[4] Slatin, *loc. cit.*

The KAMÁTÍR, or AWLÁD KAMTŪR, have now all but died out as a result of constant warfare with the FUNG in the eighteenth century. Their chief, who was usually known by the tribal name of Kamtūr, had the right of wearing the "*taḳía*[1]." His domains stretched from Karkój to Roṣayreṣ.

X. RÁZḲÍA. These, like the 'ARAKIÍN, claim descent from ASHRÁF. They are the only section of RUFÁ'A (if RUFÁ'A they be) who live north of the junction of the Niles.

VII THE GUHAYNA PROPER. Now although the term "GUHAYNA" is applied vaguely by other tribes to all the RUFÁ'A, and more especially those of the south, the RUFÁ'A EL SHARḲ and RUFÁ'A EL HUOI, there is living near these a group of small tribes to whom the term is more especially applicable and to whom the RUFÁ'A themselves apply the term GUHAYNA: these are the MA'ÁSHIRA, the GENÁNA, the RUKÁBÍN[2], the GA'AFIRA and the ROWÁSHDA. They are largely nomadic in habit. A few of them are settled in villages, but most graze with the RUFÁ'A EL SHARḲ round Ḳala'a Arang, el 'Idayd and Sūki. They are not numerous and they are now subject to the SHUKRÍA of Kassala Province.

VIII THE LAḤÁWIÍN[3]. These are related to the RUFÁ'A group and are practically all nomads. One portion of them have for many generations lived on the east bank of the White Nile between el Káwa and Gebelayn and inland[4]. These are often spoken of as "Nás Wad el Labayḥ." The other portion is more given to camel-breeding, and has its grazing-grounds farther east in the neighbourhood of el Fásher on the Atbara. These latter were for several generations attached to the KABÁBÍSH and lived in northern Kordofán and were known as the GUHAYNA section; but they quarrelled with the "*naẓir*" of the KABÁBÍSH in 1910 and moved eastwards over the Nile. They are now under the SHUKRÍA. Their well-known camel brand is a "*ṭubá'a*" on the left side of the nose with a "*ḳiláda*" on the left side of the neck[5].

[1] Jackson, p. 91 *note*. For Muḥammad Kamtūr see MS. "D 7," *passim*.

[2] Cp. Rikábía.

[3] The name Laḥáwi is said to be derived from the "laḥáwía" or great bag in which the nomads carry grain, gum, etc. The root is the same as that of "liḥa" (bark-fibre) and occurs also in the name of the Luḥaywát Arabs who live in Sinai among the tribes of Tíh. These Luḥaywát are said to be a subdivision of the Mesá'íd branch of the Beni 'Aṭía and ancient companions of the Beni 'Uḳba. (See Na'ūm Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, p. 117.) There is also, to the north-east, a section of 'Anaza called Laḥáwín (Burckhardt, *Notes...*, I, 4 and 30).

[4] Cailliaud (III, 94) notes them on the west bank of the White Nile above Khartoum in 1821. He calls them "Ellahouyehs."

[5] "Lahawwy" is mentioned by Doughty (*Arabia Des.* I, 125) and Zwemer (p. 279) as the name of an Arab tribe in Arabia at the present time. The brand of these is ♀Y.

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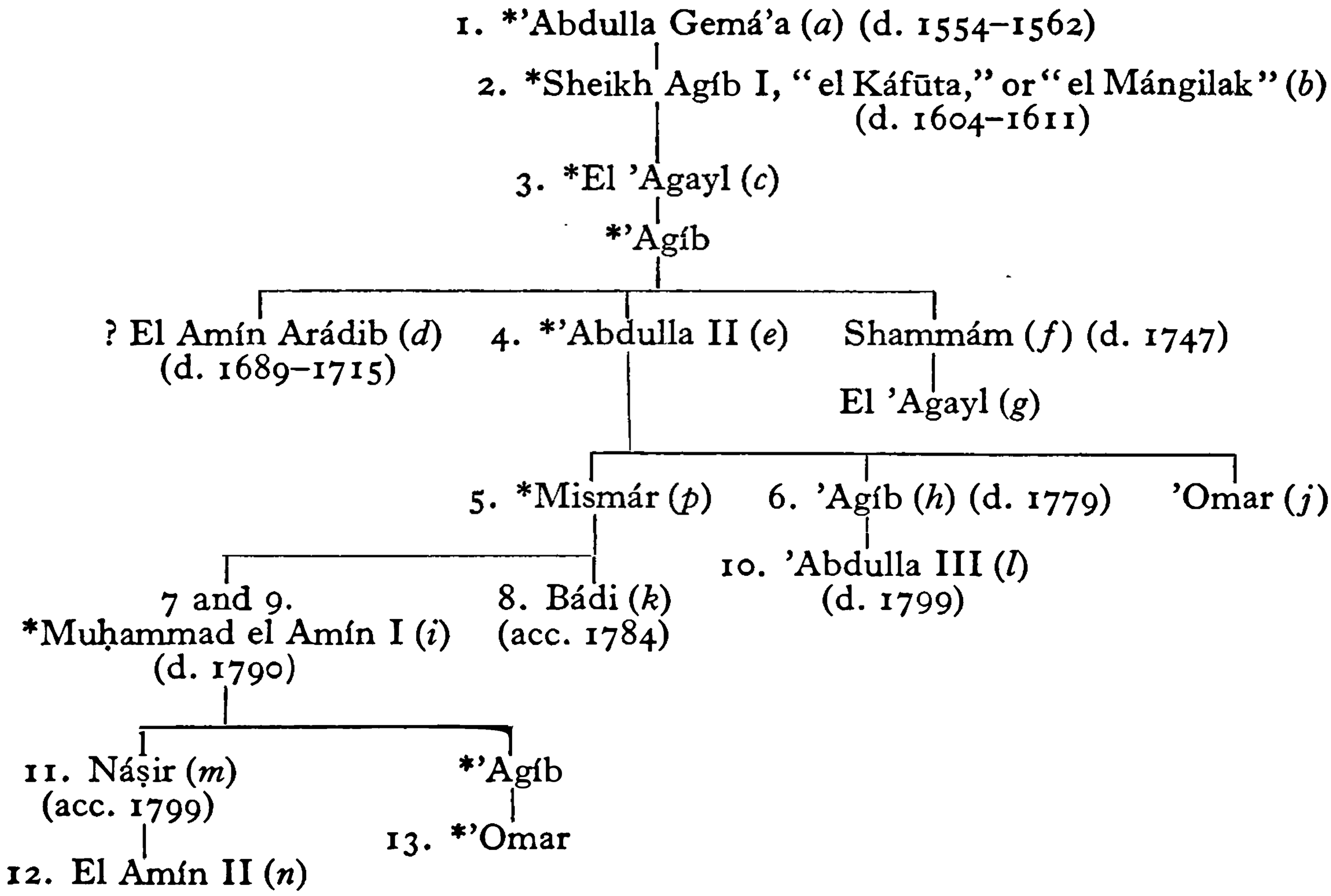
1. *'Abdulla Gemá'a (a) (d. 1554–1562)
2. *Sheikh Agíb I, "el Káfūta," or "el Mángilak" (b) (d. 1604–1611)
3. *El 'Agayl (c)
*'Agíb
? El Amín Arádib (d) (d. 1689–1715)
4. *'Abdulla II (e)
Shammám (f) (d. 1747)
El 'Agayl (g)
5. *Mismár (p)
6. 'Agíb (h) (d. 1779)
'Omar (j)
10. 'Abdulla III (l) (d. 1799)
7 and 9. *Muḥammad el Amín I (i) (d. 1790)
8. Bádi (k) (acc. 1784)
11. Náṣir (m) (acc. 1799)
*'Agíb
12. El Amín II (n)
13. *'Omar

(*a*) See D 7, v and xv. Cailliaud wrongly calls him 'Agíb.
(*b*) ,, D 7, v and xx. He is Cailliaud's "Mângalek el Kébyr."
(*c*) ,, D 7, xx. The Ḥammad el Samíḥ and his son 'Othmán mentioned in Cailliaud's list and in D 3 seem to have obtained the power after this man.
(*d*) ,, D 7, xlii.
(*e*) ,, D 7, lviii. Cailliaud (iii, 96) wrongly calls him son of 'Agayl.
(*f*) ,, D 7, lviii.
(*g*) See D 7, lviii.
(*h*) ,, D 7, lxxvi.
(*i*) ,, D 7, lxxvii and note, and cxii.
(*j*) ,, Cailliaud, *loc. cit.*
(*k*) ,, D 7, lxxxix and xc.
(*l*) ,, D 7, cxxxviii and cxxviii.
(*m*) ,, D 7, cxl and clxxxvi.
(*n*) ,, Cailliaud, *loc. cit.*
(*p*) ,, D 3, lviii. He only ruled two months.

Now 'Abdulla Gemá'a and his successors were more than chiefs of the 'Abdulláb: they were set in authority over all the tribes of Arabs in the valley of the Nile, excepting those in the neighbourhood of Sennár itself where the "*Mek*" maintained some 12,000 Nūba "to keep the Arab in subjection[1]": with the aid of these the "*Mek*" used to "levy the tax upon the Arabs as they went down, out of the limits of the rains, into the sandy countries below Atbara to protect their cattle from the fly[2]."

Bruce describes Wad 'Agíb's position about 1770 as follows[3]:

This prince was nevertheless but the Shekh of all the Arabs, to whom they paid a tribute to enable him to maintain his dignity and a sufficient

[1] Bruce, Bk. vii, Ch. 7.
[2] *Ibid.* Ch. 8. Bruce computed that this system used to cost the Arabs yearly half their substance.
[3] *Ibid.* Ch. 9.

strength to keep up order and inforce his decrees in public matters. As for œconomical ones, each tribe was under the government of its own Shekh, old men, fathers of families in each clan.

The residence of this Arab prince...was at Gerri, a town in the very limit of the tropical rains, immediately upon the ferry which leads across the Nile to the desert of Bahiouda, and the road to Dongola and Egypt, joining the great desert of Selima. This was a very well chosen situation, it being a toll-gate as it were to catch all the Arabs that had flocks, who, living within the rains in the country which was all of fat earth, were every year, about the month of May, obliged by the fly to pass, as it were in review, to take up their abode in the sandy desert without the tropical rains....The Arab chief with a large army of light unincumbered horse stood in the way of their return to their pastures till they had paid the uttermost farthing of tribute, including arrears if there were any. Such was the state and government of the whole of this vast country from the frontiers of Egypt to those of Abyssinia at the beginning of the 16th century.

Clearly the Arabs had no enviable lot. Bruce may again be quoted[1]:

The Arabs who fed their flocks near the frontiers of the two countries, were often plundered by the kings of Abyssinia making descents into the Atbara; but this was never reckoned a violation of peace between the two sovereigns. On the contrary as the motive of the Arabs for coming south into the frontiers of Abyssinia was to keep themselves independent and out of the reach of Senaar, when the king of Abyssinia fell upon them there he was understood to do that monarch service, by driving them down farther within his reach.

The attitude of the rulers of Abyssinia and Sennár towards the Arabs was in fact exactly that of the Mamlūks in Egypt in the Middle Ages and of the Sultans of Dárfūr in recent times.

By the time of the Turkish conquest of the Sudan the 'ABDULLÁB had been independent of the kingdom of Sennár for some fifty years, but the northern districts of their country for the whole of that period had been a prey to the marauding SHÁÍḲÍA[2]. In name, however, they still ruled the country as far south as the junction of the Dinder and the Blue Nile[3].

X THE INḲERRIÁB. Connected by race with the 'ABDULLÁB are the INḲERRIÁB of Berber Province.

A MS. in the possession of one of them (but not included in the following collection[4]) gives 'Abdulla Gemá'a, whom, by the way the

[1] Vol. IV, Bk. IV, p. 4.

[2] Cailliaud, II, 195.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 198 and 220. "Lodaguib" there is of course Wad 'Agíb.

[4] An Arabic copy was kindly sent me by Mr F. C. C. Balfour of the Sudan Civil Service. The author of the MS. says "I copied it from another who copied it from its owner Sheikh 'Omar ibn Muḥammad, who brought a copy from Medína...from the noble Sayyids." Probably it is nearly all a fake.

author prefers to call a "Sayyid," descended on his father's side from the Imám 'Ali[1], nine sons, namely Dayūma, Shenda[2], Idrís Inḳayr, Subba, 'Abūda, Adrakóg, Sháwar, 'Antár and 'Agíb the Mángilak. Of these, it is said, 'Agíb was the youngest and the only son of his mother, a daughter of Sherif Ḥammad Abu Denána[3]. The mother of the others, it is thought, was "a girl given to him ['Abdulla] by the king of the FUNG at the time of the advance of the Arabs to conquer the Sudan."

From Idris Inḳayr were descended the Inḳerriáb[4], from 'Abūda the KÁNGÁB, from Sháwar the ḌUḲALÁB, and from Dayūma the KALÍSÁB, the 'ARÁÍA, the ḤAMAYDÁB, the SHÁWARÁB, the ḤAMMÁDÁB, the ZURRUḲ, the MAṬAYRIḲÁB, and the SHENDIÁB[5]. From 'Agib, says the manuscript, were descended the MISÁMÍR, the 'AGÍBÁB, the SHEMÁMÍM, the 'OTHÁMNA, the ASÍDÁB, the 'ARAYBÁB and the ḤAMMÁDÁB, names obviously formed from those of famous historical 'ABDULLÁB.

## APPENDIX ON THE USE OF THE TERM "MÁNGIL"

XI The term is said to be of HAMAG origin: its derivation is uncertain. The rank of *Mángil* carried with it the right to wear the "*taḳía*," which was worn also by the *Meks* of Sennár (see D 7 CCXI *note*). This "*taḳía*" may be described as a close-fitting hat with two stuffed flaps or wings resembling horns. Werne describes it (p. 159), and says the *Mek* of Fázoghli, the Sheikh of the BENI 'ÁMIR, the Sheikh of the 'ABDULLÁB, and the *Mek* of the GA'ALIÍN were entitled to wear it. To these may be added the Sheikh of the ḤAMMADA and the Sheikh of the KAMÁTÍR of Khashm el Baḥr district (*q.v.* above *sub* RUFÁ'A). The GHODIÁT of Kordofán say their chief in olden days also bore the title and are corroborated by others. I have myself seen *Mek* Zaybak of Rashád, a NŪBA hill south of Tekali much subject in the eighteenth century to FUNG influences, wearing a "*takia*." Jackson (p. 95) thus describes the investiture of an 'Abdullábi "*Mángil*": "The newly appointed Sheikh first received a 'Tagia,' which consisted of two horns filled with cotton; this he put upon his head before taking his seat on the throne called 'Kukur'; he was then addressed with the title of Mek, and saluted: 'may your reign be prosperous!' The Sultan then kissed his hand, and, after wishing him success, ordered the state

[1] The author allows that on the mother's side 'Abdulla was a Rufá'i, and pretends to think that genealogists have been led astray by this into thinking he was a Rufá'i by race.

[2] Hence, according to the author, the name of the town of Shendi. On the other hand, the Fūr say "Shendi," or "Sendi," is a Fūr word meaning the womb and that it was so named in Kungára days because all mankind went to or came from it.

[3] *Vide* Index *sub* "Abu Denána."

[4] The name "Inḳerriáb" is more likely to be derived from Ḳerri.

[5] All these are small families scattered over the Sudan. The first five sections mentioned as descended from Dayūma were by a Rufá'ía mother, the next by a Fungáwía, the next by an 'Awadía (*i.e.* Ga'alía).

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Many of the KHAWÁLDA are in the south with the rest of the members of the LAḤÁWIÍN-ḴAWÁSMA group, and others are further north in the neighbourhood of Wad Medani.

The 'AWÁMRA are in the northern Gezira and have a few settlements on the banks of the Blue and White Niles above Khartoum.

The 'AMÁRNA, the least numerous of the three, have villages near Gebel Moya.

The FÁDNÍA are partly nomadic and partly sedentary. The nomadic branch graze in the valley of the Ḥawád and all over the northern part of the Island of Meroe[1]. Their neighbours are the GA'ALIÍN proper, the KAWÁHLA and the 'ÁLÍÁB[2]. They include ḤALATWA, AḤAYMERÁB, NAFÁFÍ'A, HELAYWÁB and other sections.

The sedentary division of the FÁDNÍA cultivate on the river banks in Berber Province and claim to be ASHRÁF[3].

### (*d*) THE SHUKRÍA AND THE DUBÁSIÍN

XIV THE SHUKRIA. From the generality of "*nisbas*" it would seem that the SHUKRÍA belong properly to the GUHAYNA group, although they have pretensions to be ḴURAYSH[4].

It is impossible to say at what period their ancestors first came to the territories now occupied by the tribe in the Blue Nile and Kassala Provinces. For some centuries the SHUKRÍA were of no particular importance, though we hear vague rumours of fights with the ancient inhabitants of Gebel Ḳayli for the possession of wells there[5], and acts of defiance to the FUNG and HAMAG of the Gezira[6].

The foundations of the eminence to which they attained in the

[1] Close to the ruins of Bása is the tomb of the "*feki*" Báfadni, a well-known sanctuary. (See Crowfoot in *Arch. Surv. Nubia*, XIX, p. 13, and cp. D 6.)

[2] The 'Álíáb include sections called Yezíd, Idirga and Kimayláb.

[3] See A 2, A 11, and especially D 6. BA classes the Fádnía as Guhayna.

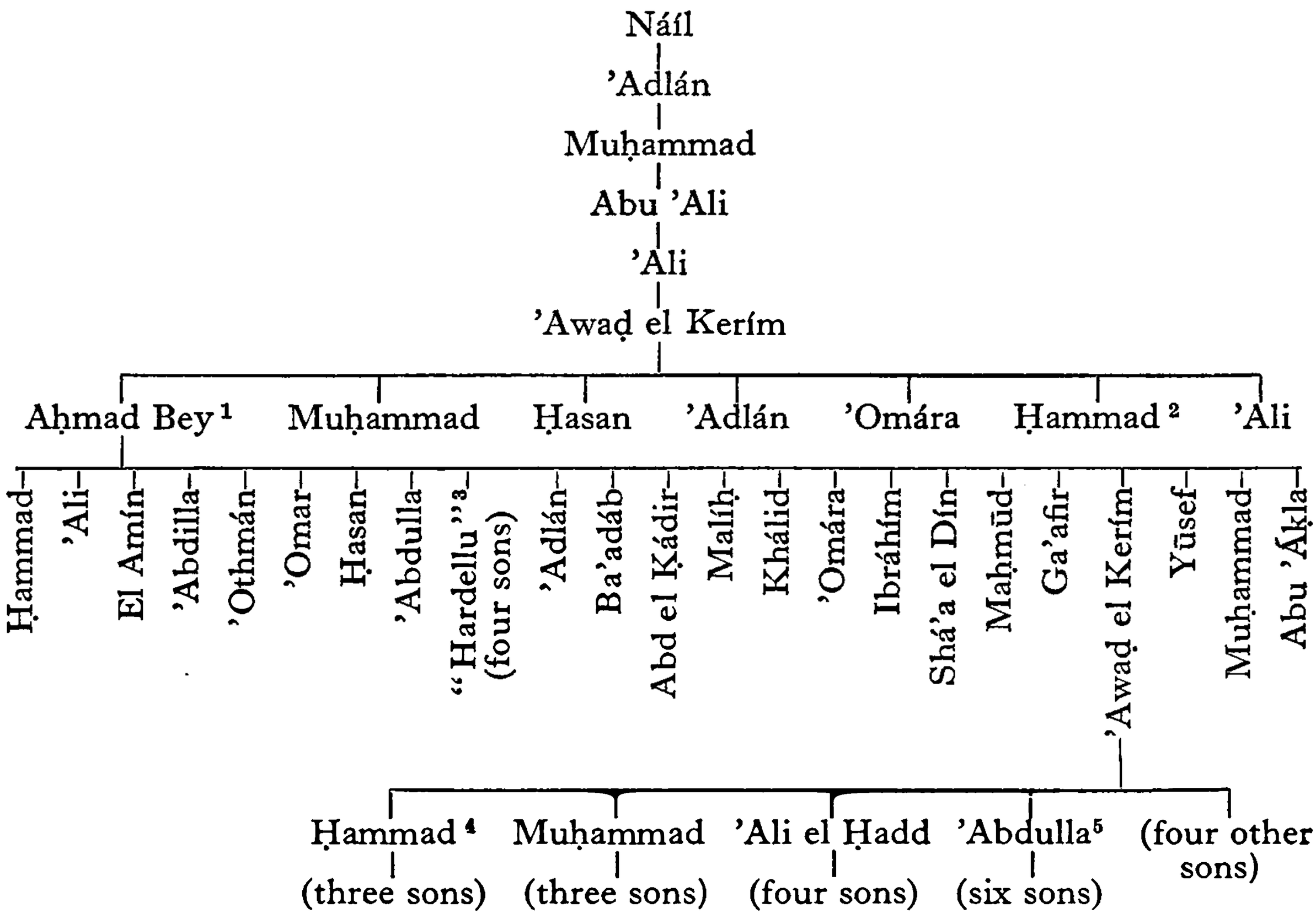
[4] See C 5 (*a*) and (*b*). See also D 7, XI and ABC, XXVIII, and notes thereto, from which it will appear that there may be a connection between the Shukría and the Arabian tribe of Yashkur, a branch of Ḳays 'Aylán.

[5] In these traditions the Ḳayli folk are spoken of as 'Anag.

[6] The following anecdote was told me by a Mesallami: "In the days when the Shukría were under the Hamag, the latter in their haughtiness bade the former not to foul the 'Buṭána' by leaving their she-camels' afterbirths ('silla') in it but to take them away and throw them into the river. The Shukría had perforce to obey, but one youth dared to disobey and the Hamag king Torunga put him to death. A year later, on the anniversary, Ḥammad, the brother of the murdered man, appeared before Torunga in armour and demanded his revenge. Torunga in wrath replied, 'Perform the marriage ceremony here and now to celebrate my marriage with this fellow's wife'—he reckoned Ḥammad, that is, as good as dead and his wife taken as loot. The ceremony was then performed (in the lady's absence of course), and Torunga made ready to slay Ḥammad; but Ḥammad slew Torunga with one blow, and Ḥammad's six companions slew the whole Hamag army."

nineteenth century were laid by the famous Abu Sin family. Its ancestor was Náil, son of the Shá'a el Dín wad el Tuaym, whose tomb, with that of his wife Bayáki bint el Mek[1], is still to be seen at the south-east foot of Gebel Ḳayli, on the edge of the Buṭána; and from Náil and his brother el Nūr are descended most of the SHUKRÍA sections of the present day.

Náil lived nine generations ago, that is, probably, early in the seventeenth century, and the table of his male descendants, or such of them as are known, is as follows:




[1] His sons, as shewn above, are in no exact order.
[2] See D 7 CXCIII.
[3] The name denotes a hard rider. "Hardellu" used to guide the tribe when changing their pasture, riding fabulous distances to find out where was the best grazing and where the rain-water lay most plentifully.
[4] Head of the Shukría of Kassala.
[5] Head of the Shukría in the Blue Nile Province.

The earliest of these about whom we have any information is Abu 'Ali, who about 1779 was killed in a revolt of the SHUKRÍA against the FUNG[2].

[1] According to some accounts the "*Mek*" was a *Mek* of Sennár, *i.e.* it was a Fung princess whom Shá'a el Dín wedded and brought to Gebel Ḳayli. According to another and much more likely account she was a daughter of the (pagan ?) *Mek* of Ḳayli. She is said to have lived on the top of the hill and her people at the foot of it. The graves mentioned consist of an inner and an outer ring of stones, the former being about the size of the corpse and the outer being made merely to prevent the floods washing away the inner.

[2] See D 7, LXXV.

His son 'Awaḍ el Kerím Abu Sin succeeded him and must have been the chief of the tribe at the time when they, in alliance with the 'ABDULLÁB, sacked Arbagi in 1784[1]. He was killed in the war of 1802 against the BAṬÁḤÍN[2].

But the greatest of all the SHUKRÍA sheikhs was the "grand old Arab patriarch" Aḥmad Bey ibn 'Awaḍ el Kerim of whom Sir Samuel Baker has left so vivid a portrait[3]. During the early years of his sheikhship the tribe was at mortal feud both with the BAṬÁḤÍN and with the GA'ALIÍN and AḤÁMDA east and south of Shendi[4], and, like the rest of the nomads, at daggers drawn with the FUNG government[5].

But when the Turks conquered the Sudan they found it necessary to obtain the support of the influential sheikhs, and Aḥmad Bey became one of their most trusted allies. In return, wide privileges were granted, and during the latter part of the Turkish *régime* the SHUKRÍA were lords of the Buṭána and held a general overlordship over all the nomads of the Blue Nile, the Gezira and the Atbara, and tithes were paid to the Abu Sin family[6] on the crops of nearly every *wádi* in the ancient Island of Meroe.

The SHUKRÍA attempted to keep aloof from the Mahdi[7] in the early Dervish days and their power diminished in consequence. Then came the famine of 1889 and almost annihilated the tribe[8]. Now, though they are again a large and wealthy camel-owning tribe they can no longer claim any position of pre-eminence.

Part of them are now in Kassala province[9], and the majority are between the Blue Nile and the Atbara. The head of the Abu Sin family, 'Abdulla ibn 'Awaḍ el Kerím, still resides at Rufá'a and enjoys the esteem and respect of all, as did his grandfather Aḥmad Bey, but his ancient authority is a thing of the past. His brother Ḥammad rules the SHUKRÍA of Kassala.

The main subdivisions of the SHUKRÍA are as follows:

NÁÍLÁB. Descendants of Náíl wad Shá'a el Dín. They include the Abu Sin family.

NŪRÁB. Descended from el Nūr, brother of Shá'a el Dín. Most of them are in Kassala Province, but there is a branch near Abu Delayḳ.

[1] See D 7, XC. [2] See D 7, CLI.

[3] See note to D 7, CCXC, and Baker, pp. 75 and 111.

[4] Burckhardt, p. 346, and Cailliaud, III, 108.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 316 and 400.

[6] Cp. Baker, p. 75. The head of the family held the title "*Sheikh el Mashálkh.*" Mansfield Parkyns (II, 405) adds, however, that the same title was held by the chiefs of the Abu Gin and the Abu Róf families.

[7] Cp. Sir C. Wilson, *loc. cit.*

[8] Slatin, Ch. XIII.

[9] In Turkish days Ḳeḍáref used to be known as "*Sūḳ Abu Sin.*"

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Bruce[1] places them in the Mazaga district near the junction of the Setít and the Atbara, and speaks of "the Dobenah, the most powerful of all the Shangalla, who have a species of supremacy, or command, over all the rest of the nations": he sees in them the descendants of Ptolemaeus's "elephantophagi." Again he calls[2] "Dobenah" a "general name" for the tribes who shared with the Basa of the Atbara ("Tacazze") "the peninsula formed by that river and the Mareb" (the Ḳash[3]). He recalls[4] the attack made upon them by Yasus I of Abyssinia (1680–1704) and concludes[5]: "Thus ended the campaign of the Dobenah....And yet, notwithstanding the smallpox, which, in some places, exterminated whole tribes, the Dobenah have not lost an inch of territory, but seem rather to be gaining upon Sire." On the other hand, relating the expedition of Yasus II in 1736 into the territories of the FUNG Bruce says[6]: "The King, in five days marching from Gidara, came to a station of the Daveina, which is a tribe of shepherds, by much the strongest of any in Atbara." These "Daveina," whom Bruce seems to have forgotten to connect with the "Dobenah," although he himself in different places[7] tells us of each that it inhabited Mazaga district, are certainly the Ḍubáína or Ḍubánía of the present day, and must surely represent a more arabicized branch of the Shangalla "Dubena[8]" settled rather farther west than their kinsfolk[9].

Werne in 1840 speaks of the ḌUBÁÍNA as a very large tribe in the neighbourhood of Ḳeḍáref and Ḳallabát, "second to neither the Beni-Amer nor Haddenda[10]."

Baker met them and their sheikh 'Adlán wad Sa'íd in 1861 with the SHUKRÍA on the Atbara round Tómát. They were then still a considerable tribe owning many cattle and sheep, and at enmity with the GA'ALIÍN refugees of *Mek* Nimr's family, who were settled on the Abyssinian border[11]. In his map Baker shews them as occupying all

[1] Vol. IV, Bk. IV, p. 30; and Vol. III, p. 4; and map ("Dubeno").

[2] Vol. III, Ch. IV, p. 472.

[3] In Vol. VI, p. 244, however, Bruce speaks of "The Baasa, or Dobena Shangalla."

[4] Vol. III, Ch. IV, p. 472.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 479.

[6] Vol. IV, Bk. IV, p. 119.

[7] *Ibid.* as quoted, and Bk. VI, Ch. I, p. 44.

[8] Bruce's editor (Vol. III, Introd. p. 4) says: "To the north of Abyssinia they [the Shangalla] are mixed with Arabs, the Beja, and the Belowé [*i.e.* the Belū]; in which quarter they are called Dubena."

[9] Mansfield Parkyns (map to Vol. I, and cp. Vol. II, p. 404) places the "Daveina Arabs" between the Rahad and the Atbara, immediately south of the fifteenth parallel.

[10] Werne, p. 187.

[11] Baker, pp. 136, 279, 447. Cp. M. Parkyns (II, 404), who speaks of "Abu Jin, great chief of the Daveinas." As Abu Gin was head-sheikh of the Ḥammada we must suppose the Ḍubáína were under the overlordship of that tribe.

the country between the Rahad and the Atbara to the south of the SHUKRÍA.

The present habitat of the ḌUBÁNÍA is much what it was in the time of Bruce and Baker. There are some of them between Ḳeḍáref and Ḳallabát; but most of the tribe was extirpated by the Dervishes. The survivors are sedentary and poor. A few are at Ḳeḍáref with the SHUKRÍA, and a few survive in the villages that border on the Blue Nile.

## THE FEZÁRA GROUP

XVI The term FEZÁRA is now no longer heard in the Sudan, but to the travellers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and perhaps even until the "*Mahdía*," it was the usual denomination of the largest group of camel-owning nomads of Kordofán and Dárfūr[1]. These are now much more distinctly divided and each tribe is known by its own name.

Before embarking on details of these tribes we may remark it as curious that the FEZÁRA who emigrated from Arabia to Egypt were an Ismá'ílitic tribe, a branch of ḲAYS 'AYLÁN, whereas the GUHAYNA, from whom the FEZÁRA group of the Sudan claim descent, were Ḳaḥṭánites and therefore very distantly related indeed to the FEZÁRA of Arabia. The apparent anomaly is, however, explained to some extent by the fact that the FEZÁRA and the GUHAYNA have always been neighbours in the Ḥegáz, and probably for that reason took part in the same tribal migrations[2] and intermarried with one another. Again, some confusion might naturally arise between the two groups of FEZÁRA and GUHAYNA owing to the fact that while a section of GUHAYNA happened to be named ḲAYS and to have one subsection called GHAṬAFÁN and another in which the names Dhubián and 'Abs occur at a comparatively early date, the FEZÁRA were the largest section of the BENI DHUBIÁN, who again, with the BENI 'ABS, formed the two main branches of the great GHAṬAFÁN subtribe of ḲAYS 'AYLÁN[3]. But although this similarity of nomenclature may have been due to no more than coincidence, it is more probable that it betokens the close intimacy of the two tribes and their interrelation by marriage.

Let us take the various FEZÁRA tribes of the Sudan in turn:

[1] El Tūnisi's map, *e.g.*, speaks of camel-owning nomads called Fezára comprising the Maḥámíd, the Megánín, the Beni Gerár, the Beni 'Omrán and the Messíría Zurruḳ. Bruce's map places "Beni Faisara," "Cubbabeesh," and Beni Gerár in the Bayūda.

[2] See Part II, Chaps. 1 and 2.

[3] See Wüstenfeld, I and H. and Tree 1 in Part II, above.

## (*f*) DÁR ḤÁMID

XVII Until the latter part of the Turkish period this tribe was almost entirely nomadic and to a certain degree it is so still. For several generations past a portion of it has been with the KABÁBÍSH of Dongola and a yet larger section with the western KAWÁHLA, who until the "*Mahdía*" were incorporated as a subtribe with the KABÁBÍSH of Kordofán. Both of these outlying DÁR ḤÁMID groups remain entirely nomadic[1].

The remainder of the tribe has built many villages of straw "*tukls*" in the well-wooded, fertile and undulating district which marches to the north with the high, rough country of the KABÁBÍSH, and many of them reside there all the year round cultivating "*dukhn*" or grazing according to the season; but in the "*Kharîf*" a large proportion of the tribe take their coarse woollen tents and move some distance northwards and westwards like the true nomads until the rainwater has dried up and they have to return to the villages in and around the "*Khayrán*." The nomadic character of the tribe made it easy in the last century for various DANÁGLA and others to acquire possession of many of the basins of the "*Khayrán*" which are cultivable by "*shadūf*" and "*sáḳia*." The DÁR ḤÁMID having no interest in or knowledge of artificial irrigation only used the wells in the "*Khayrán*" for watering their flocks, and were content to let others grow vegetables. In addition the DANÁGLA were special *protégés* of the Turks and always sure of support if any attempt was made to oust them.

It is hard to say at what period the DÁR ḤÁMID took up their abode in central Kordofán. It may have been in the first half of the sixteenth century, or it may have been earlier, at the time of the great southern movement of the GUHAYNA tribes through Dongola.

Their ancestor Ḥámid "cl Khuayn" lived, according to their "*nisbas*," from eleven to thirteen generations ago. He and his brother Ḥammad, it is said, came from Egypt and pushed through to Dárfūr, and their descendants took up their abode partly in Dárfūr and partly in Kordofán.

XVIII The main divisions of the tribe are the FERÁḤNA, the HABÁBÍN, the MERÁMRA, the NAWÁḤIA, the 'ARÍFÍA, the AWLÁD AḲOI, the MEGÁNÍN and the GILAYDÁT; and the parentage attributed to some of these by tradition throws some light on the early connections of the tribe. The mother of the first two is said to have been from Gebel

[1] The commonest camel-brands of the Dár Ḥámid Kawáhla are the same as those of certain of the Megánín branch of Dár Ḥámid.

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Kordofán he conciliated the ZAGHÁWA and settled them at Kagmár, enslaved the ḲURA'ÁN, and placed himself under the protection of the FUNG. A general concentration of the DÁR ḤÁMID in Kordofán followed, and during the period of FUNG ascendancy in that province the tribe seems to have paid them tribute.

The "*naḥás*" remained with the AWLÁD AḲOI for three generations after 'Abd el Ḥamayd, and then passed into the possession of the HABÁBÍN, who had become the richest and most powerful section of the tribe, and whose sheikh Um Beda wad Simáwi was their leading warrior.

From Um Beda the "*naḥás*" descended to his sons Tumsáḥ and 'Abd el Salám[1] and his grandson Simáwi "Giraygír[2]."

It is on account of the chieftainship having been in the hands of the HABÁBÍN throughout the Turkish period that travellers not uncommonly spoke of "the HABÁBÍN" when they intended to denote the whole of DÁR ḤÁMID[3].

XX At the present day each of the sections has its own sheikh and there is no single head of the tribe with a "*naḥás*." The most nomadic of these sections, because the richest in herds, is the MEGÁNÍN[4], the bulk of whom are on the western confines of DÁR ḤÁMID and roam almost as far north-west in the rains as do the KABÁBÍSH and KAWÁHLA. It is only lately that they have begun to clear parts of their country for cultivation and to form villages and to tap their forests for gum. Grazing their cattle and sheep and raiding those of their neighbours had long been their only occupations.

They have now become entirely separate from the rest of the tribe[5], and are still more or less unregenerate.

A section of the MEGÁNÍN lives apart round el Ḥashába in eastern Kordofán and is completely cut off from the rest of the tribe. They were first noticed by Baron J. W. von Müller between 1847 and 1849[6].

[1] *Q.v.* Cuny, p. 154.
[2] Slatin's "Grieger."
[3] *E.g.* M. Parkyns and Cuny (pp. 154, 161, 173).
[4] *Sing.* "Magnūni" (*i.e.* "Madman"). A curious example of the cheerful and wholesale acceptance by a tribe of a depreciatory nickname (see Andrew Lang, *The Secret of the Totem*, Ch. VI).
[5] They are mentioned by el Tūnisi as a large tribe rich in herds and paying tribute to Dárfūr (*Voyage au Darfour*, p. 87). He includes them and the Maḥámíd, the Beni 'Omrán, the Beni Gerár and some of the Messíría Zurruḳ under the term "Fezára" ("Ferára by misprint; see *loc. cit.* p. 129). Nachtigal (*Ouadaï*, p. 71) alludes to them in Wadái as "de la famille des Mahamid's." Cuny (p. 78) speaks of them as a separate tribe and says they, the Ma'ália, the Kabábísh, the Beni Gerár, and the Zayádía, meet at Um el Baḥr in northern Kordofán. However, when in 1906 their sheikh bought a "*naḥás*" for the Megánín, even his own tribe regarded his action as presumptuous and would not allow it to be beaten.
[6] See *Journ. R. G. S.* Vol. XX, 1851.

The following are the main sections of the MEGÁNÍN[1]:

A. 'AYÁDÍA
  1. AWLÁD GIMÍ'A
  2. „ GIMA'A
  3. „ GÁMA'I
B. ḤAMAYDÍA
  1. TAGŪLA
  2. RAYWÁT
  etc.
C. NÁS TIBO
D. AWLÁD MÁḌI
E. AWLÁD RŪMÍA
F. HAYÁDIRA
G. GHADIÁNÁT
H. AWLÁD SÁ'ID
I. AWLÁD FAḌÁLA
  1. ABU RISHAYD
  2. MARKŪK
J. MESÁ'ÍD[2]

No particular camel brand is distinctive of the whole tribe. Each section uses its own, and the subsections add each its own variation[3].

XXI The FERÁḤNA are the subtribe of DÁR ḤÁMID richest in sheep and in land, but they are nearly all sedentary and are regarded as "*nouveaux riches*." They have taken advantage of the fact that many of the best "*Khayrán*" fall within their boundaries to cultivate them by artificial means. Or, maybe, there is some truth in the story of their Egyptian connection and for that reason the cultivable basins originally fell to them.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

EL SHERAMA
EL ṬURSHA[4]
EL AḲÁRÍB
EL GHUBSHÁN
AWLÁD ḤIZMA
EL KERIMÍA
EL BERAYḲÁT
EL FILÍÁT
EL NA'ŪMÍA
EL 'AWÁMRA
EL SHOWÁL

XXII The HABÁBÍN[5] and the MERÁMRA are, after the MEGÁNÍN, the

[1] Some of the smaller subdivisions of these are omitted, but they can be found in my *Tribes...*, p. 129.

[2] The Mesá'íd say they are not Megánín at all by origin. The name is merely a plural of Mas'ūd and not uncommon as a tribal appellation. The best known Mesá'íd are those settled on the Arabian coast near Muwayla and Gián and thereabouts: these are a branch of the Ḥuwayṭát (see Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 87 ff.).

[3] See MacMichael, *Camel Brands...*, p. 27.

[4] The name Ṭurshán occurs in Klippel's list of Egyptian Bedouins: he speaks of the Ṭurshán as "d'origine berbère." Sir C. Wilson (p. 4) mentions "Tarshan" among the semi-nomadic Arabs north of Aswán. "Ṭurshán" occurs also among the Awlád Aḳoi.

[5] Pallme and Werne confuse the Habábín with the Habbánía (Baḳḳára) between whom, though the singular of both names is "Habbáni," there is no traditional connection at all.

most nomadic sections of DÁR ḤÁMID. Both have numerous villages, west and east of the FERÁḤNA respectively, but neither own any of the "*Khayrán*."

The subdivisions of the HABÁBÍN are as follows:

- NÁS EL SHEIKH[1]
- AWLÁD ÁNIS
  - „ 'AWĂNA
  - „ SAKÍRAN
  - „ ZAGHÁWA
  - „ NAKŪR
- UM SA'ADŪN
- ABU 'AMÁR
- AWLÁD WASÍK
- EL KIRÁN
- AWLÁD BILÁL
- AWLÁD ḤÁMID
  - „ SELMÁN
- EL FÁS
- NÁS ḤAMÍR
- FELLÁTA
- AWLÁD MILAYT
- NUGHŪRA
- KAKKO
- AWLÁD MUḤAMMAD
  - „ DÁIR

Those of the MERÁMRA are as follows:

A. SAMNÍA
1. NÁS HADHLŪL
2. „ MA'ÁFA[2]
3. „ NUṢÁR[2]
4. SELLÁM
5. AWLÁD ḤÁTIM
6. NÁS BIḤAYL
7. GEZAY'I
8. ABU TINAYTIM
9. DOWÁSHNA

B. MESÁBÍḤ
1. TURKU

C. DÁR EL BA'AG
1. GHUBSHÁN
2. NÁS ABU 'ALI
3. KURUMUSÍA[3]

XXIII The NAWÁḤIA have between thirty and forty villages north of Bára and others farther east near Um Dam: they also own one or two of the "*Khayrán*." Their subdivisions are as follows:

A. AWLÁD MUḤAMMAD
1. AWLÁD 'AGAYL
2. RUSHDÁNA
3. AWLÁD SA'AD
4. ḲANÁFÍD
5. AWLÁD KERAYM

[1] The distinctive brand of this the ruling section is a "Ga'aba Khashm el Kelb" ("dog's mouth on the buttock"), *i.e.* > to the left of the tail (MacMichael, *ibid.*).

[2] Both names occur again in almost identical form among the Nawáḥia.

[3] Nachtigal gives the Kurumusía as a separate division of the Fezára, together with the Zayádía and various Dár Ḥámid tribes (see Helmolt, p. 585). Other Kurumusía are with the Zayádía at the present day.

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XXVI The GILAYDÁT though classed as DÁR ḤÁMID are regarded askance by the rest of the tribe. It appears that they represent a blend of some of the earliest Arab immigrants to Kordofán with the autochthonous negroids. Rüppell, Pallme, Parkyns and others class them with the GHODIÁT and GAWÁMA'A.

Their present habitat is round Gebel Um "Shidera" (*i.e.* Shagera) on the south-west limits of Dár Ḥámid. Many GILAYDÁT were in Dárfūr, between el Fásher and the ḤAMAR country, in Turkish days[1], but since the devastation of the "*Mahdía*" there have been no more than a few of their villages left there, and nearly all that survived settled in Kordofán.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

RUDÁNA
NAṢÍRÁT
AKÁSHÍA
AWLÁD ERBŪD
AWLÁD WÁLID
AWLÁD DEFÍN
UMBÁDIRÍA[2]
ḤARBÍA[3]

## (*g*) THE ZAYÁDÍA

XXVII The ZAYÁDÍA also appear from the "*nisbas*" to be related closely to the FEZÁRA group.

They are frequently mentioned by travellers[4] in the nineteenth century as one of the principal tribes of the northern steppes, generally in connection with forays on caravans or fights with the KABÁBÍSH, BENI GERÁR and ḤAMAR, on the Wádi el Melik and even as far east as the Debba-El Ḥaráza route[5].

In 1883 the ZAYÁDÍA of Dárfūr were assessed for tribute at £E. 2500 and those of Kordofán at £E. 55 only[6]; but the tribe was all but wiped out in the "*Mahdía*," and now that it has recovered some small measure of prosperity the proportion in which it is distributed as between Dárfūr and Kordofán has been reversed on account of the persecution to which it was subjected by the Sultan 'Ali Dinár. A number of the AWLÁD GÁBIR and AWLÁD MUFAḌḌAL sections still remain round el Melliṭ and el Sayáḥ, north of el Fásher, but between 1904 and 1913 nearly all the AWLÁD GERBŪ'A fled for refuge to Kordofán[7]. They are now settled at Um Gózayn on the south-western confines of Dár Ḥámid, and such of them as have any wealth in herds remaining spend the "*kharif*" in the north-

[1] Burckhardt also mentions them in Dárfūr in 1814 (*Nubia*, p. 481).
[2] See note to BA, LXVII.
[3] These were mostly nomadic until the last decade.
[4] *E.g.* Burckhardt, p. 481.
[5] See Cuny, p. 94.
[6] See Stewart.
[7] The emigrants of 1913 were accompanied by a few Gilaydát from Dárfūr.

west of Kordofán with their nomad cousins of the DÁR ḤÁMID and the SHENÁBLA.

The subdivisions of the ZAYÁDÍA are as follows:

A. AWLÁD GERBŪ'A[1]
1. NÁS ḤASAN
2. „ ADRAG
3. „ SHÓK
4. „ SHERRI
5. „ ABU ḤAMMÁM
6. 'AIÁL SULAYM
7. 'ISÁWÍA[2]
8. NÁS EL TÓM
9. NAFÁ'ÍA
10. NÁS KIRTŪB
11. UM DERÁWA
12. AWLÁD FÁRIS
13. 'IMAYRÍA
14. MISÁMÍR
15. GETÁRNA
16. KURUMUSÍA[3]

B. AWLÁD MUFAḌḌAL
1. AWLÁD 'AWANULLA
2. „ IMÁMA
3. „ BAYBŪSH
4. „ ZAYN
5. „ WÁFI
6. „ SHAḤÁWÍN
7. „ 'AWÁDA
8. „ 'AWÁDÍA
9. „ UM GAM'ŪN

C. AWLÁD GÁBIR
1. 'AIÁL SABT EL NŪR
2. „ RIḲAY'A
3. „ ABU MIS·HIM
4. AWLÁD TATŪN
5. „ ABU MA'ÁLI
6. „ ḤAMMŪD
7. „ GUBÁRÁT
8. „ ZAYD
9. „ BERBŪSH, or BERÁBÍSH
10. NÁS UM GEMA'A

The ZAYÁDÍA have no distinctive tribal brand common to all[4].

[1] Gerbū'a = jerboa. The name "Gerábí'a" (BA, XCVII) appears to be a plural formed from Gerbū'a: cp. note in Part III, Chap. 5, para. v.

[2] Others are with the Kabábísh and with the Gamū'ía (*q.v.*).

[3] Cp. *sub* Merámra (above).

[4] See MacMichael, *Camel Brands*, p. 35, for some of their brands.

### (*h*) THE BENI GERÁR

XXVIII At one time, from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century, the BENI GERÁR and the ḤAMAR were the chief antagonists of the KABÁBÍSH in the grazing grounds of northern Kordofán and northern Dárfūr from the Wádi el Melik to Kagmár, and used to raid the caravan roads running from Debba to el Ḥaráza and over the Bayūda desert and down the banks of the White Nile[1].

The name "Fezára" seems to have been more often applied to them than to any of the other nomads and it is not unlikely that they have some real connection with the FEZÁRA who were in Upper Egypt in the fifteenth century[2].

As the BENI GERÁR were gradually ousted by the other nomads, by the KABÁBÍSH in particular, from Kagmár and the northern steppes of Kordofán they tended to move farther south and to take to cultivation, near the White Nile round el Busáṭa and farther inland near Kadmūl in central Kordofán, while they sent their herds to graze round el Tiūs and to the east of Khorsi.

At present they have numerous villages in the White Nile Province, and a few round Kadmūl. The nomadic portion of the tribe remains in Kordofán and accompanies the KAWÁHLA in the rainy season. No BENI GERÁR are left now in Dárfūr.

The main divisions of the tribe are as follows:

A. MAḤABÍB

B. AWLÁD RABÍ'A
   1. NÁS EL AḤAYMER
   2. ,, EL SHA'IBA
   3. ,, KHALÁFA

C. GUBÁRÁT[3]
   1. NÁS ABU'A
   2. ,, GUAYD
   3. SINŪT
   4. UM SIMAYRA
   5. NÁS SÁLIM
   6. AWLÁD GIŪT

D. AWLÁD ḤAYLA
   1. NÁS MŪSA
   2. BILAYLÁT

E. ABU ḤAGŪL

F. AWLÁD BARAKÁT

### (*j*) THE BAZA'A

XXIX The BAZA'A are reputed to be very closely related to the BENI GERÁR, but the connection between the two tribes appears purely adventitious.

[1] See Bruce, Vol. VI, Ch. X; Browne (p. 325); Cuny (p. 43) and Mansfield Parkyns (*R. G. S.* XX, 254).

[2] See Part II, Chap. I.

[3] The same name occurs frequently, *e.g.* among the Baḳḳára and the Zayádía.

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the same country as the KAWÁHLA and DÁR ḤÁMID in Kordofán, but they have in addition numerous settlements near the White Nile.

According to the "*nisbas*" they are closely related to the DÁR ḤÁMID group. It is said that they severed their connection with these in the eighteenth century and some took up their abode near Shatt and Zerayḳa, west of the White Nile[1], and others joined the KABÁBÍSH congeries in the north.

A few SHENÁBLA also joined the ḤAMAR and are known as the GIKHAYSÁT. These are a rich camel-owning section of nomads and are to be found from el Oḍaya to Fóga and Um Bel, and in the rains farther north.

The main branch, that which joined the KABÁBÍSH, remained with that tribe until the "*Mahdía*" and then broke away together with the KAWÁHLA, and have since been independent.

The subtribes of the SHENÁBLA are as follows:

A. UM BRAYSH
   1. 'ÁMIRA
   2. GA'ABA
B. UM 'ABDULLA
   1. GÓARA
   2. NÁS GUMA'A
   3. NÁS UM GÁD EL KERÍM
C. AWLÁD NÁṢIR
   1. NÁS MUḲÁBIL
   2. NÁS NUKMUSHA
D. AWLÁD DÁNI
E. NÁS ḤADÁD
   1. NÁS SALLAS
   2. NÁS FENAYḤA
F. 'AWÁMRA[2]
   1. AWLÁD FÁḌIL ZOWRÁB
   2. NÁS WAD 'ABDULLA
   3. NÁS WAD EL NŪR
   4. SHUWAYḤÁT[3]
G. AWLÁD ḤAWÁL[4]
   1. NÁS MERRA'I
   2. NÁS MA'AK
H. ḤAMDÍA[5]
J. ṢUBAYḤÁT
   1. AWLÁD AMÍRA
   2. KHAMÍSÁB
   3. NÁFA'ÁB
   4. KUWIÁB
   5. NÁS UM LÁOTA
K. ABU 'IMAYR
   1. NAGÁGÍR
   2. TAIBÁT
   3. NÁS WAD ZAYN
L. AWLÁD HASHŪN
   1. NÁS NA'ÍM
   2. ABU RUḌḌI
   3. MENÁN
   4. NÁS GHARAYRA

The brand used by almost every section of SHENÁBLA on their camels is the "*kurbág*." It varies in form but is always placed on

[1] In *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán* (p. 206) I spoke of some of these as joining the Mesallamía. There are some Shenábla in the Mesallamía district in the Gezíra, but these took their name, it seems, from Shanbūl walad Medani (*q.v.* in D 7, 79, 80 and 167). These Shenábla (the word is the plural of Shanbūl, and has a singular "Shanbali," or "Shambali") are alleged locally to have some connection with the Ḥaḍáreb of the Red Sea coast, but evidence of this is otherwise lacking.

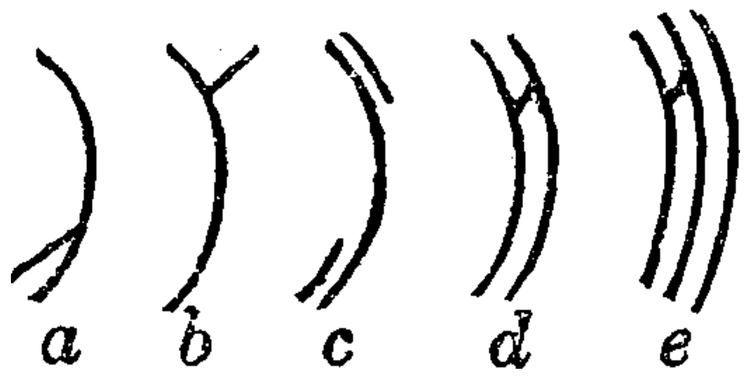
[2] Cp. *sub* Rufá'a.

[3] Cp. *sub* Bedayría.

[4] Cp. *sub* Kabábísh.

[5] Once a section of Abu 'Imayr.

the left leg round the upper joint. The following are its commonest forms[1]:




### (*l*) THE MA'ÁLIA AND THE MA'ÁḲLA

XXXI **THE MA'ÁLIA.** The MA'ÁLIA are related to the Dár Ḥámid group, but have long been entirely independent of it, and at best were rather allies attracted by cousinship than brethren who seceded from a family league.

The tribe is divided between Dárfūr and Kordofán. At the close of the Turkish epoch the MA'ÁLIA of Dárfūr, camel-owners in the north and cattle-owners in the south, were assessed for tribute at £E. 1450 as compared with £E. 149 charged against the branch in Kordofán[1]. The tendency had long been for the latter to decamp westwards to evade the oppression of the Turks. But after the disappearance of the Turkish *régime* and the subsequent crushing of the Dervish revolt a like motive led to a steady infiltration of MA'ÁLIA from Dárfūr into Kordofán.

By 1916 there were no MA'ÁLIA at all in northern Dárfūr and only a few round their old headquarters at Shakka in the south-east or living as refugees among their powerful neighbours the RIZAYḲÁT. But with the fall of 'Ali Dínár in May, 1916, began yet another return movement from Kordofán to Dárfūr and though the MA'ÁLIA are still far more numerous in the former they are anxious to recolonize their ancient domains in Dárfūr and will probably, before long, be fairly evenly distributed between the two provinces. In Kordofán their chief colony is round Gebel Gleit (Ḳlayt), south of the MEGÁNÍN and west of the other DÁR ḤÁMID; but there are many others settled in el Nahūd, el Oḍaya, Um Ruába[3], Dilling and el Obeid districts. All these are partly sedentary but primarily nomadic. In the rains they send their herds north-westwards: in the summer most stay in their villages, but the richer folk go southwards in the wake of the BAḲḲÁRA for the sake of the grazing.

[1] A similar brand, viz. is used by the Beshr section of 'Anaza of Arabia (Doughty, *Arabia Des.* I, 125 and 331; Zwemer, p. 279).

[2] Stewart.

[3] It would be these of whom Burckhardt heard as living between el Obeid and the Shilluk country (*Nubia*, p. 482).

The divisions of the tribe in Kordofán are as follows:

A. UM ḤAMMÁD[1]
- 1. MUKRAYM (UM KERAYM)
  - (*a*) AḲÁRIBA
  - (*b*) NÁS FARAG
  - (*c*) UM 'EGAYLI
  - (*d*) ḤARBÍA
  - (*e*) DÁR EL KHÁDIM
  - (*f*) AWLÁD UM GIMA'A
  - (*g*) „ KHAYÁRA
  - (*h*) „ 'AṬÁALLA
  - (*j*) „ UM ḤAMDA
  - (*k*) SURŪRÍA
  - (*l*) RISHAYDÁT

B. UM EL ḤATÁSHA
- 1. KHAWÁBÍR[2]
  - (*a*) UM FELAḤ
  - (*b*) GUAYL
  - (*c*) AWLÁD RISHDÁT
  - (*d*) ḤIDAYBA
  - (*e*) KHAWÁBÍR EL ḤUMR
  - (*f*) GENÁBLA
- 2. 'ALAYḲA
  - (*a*) ABU ḲUṢAYER etc.

XXXII THE MA'ÁḲLA. The MA'ÁḲLA, a smaller and far more sedentary tribe, are counted by the MA'ÁLIA as subject to them; but the two tribes are racially distinct, and in Kordofán the MA'ÁḲLA are now independent. Even in Dárfūr, where their numbers are almost negligible, they are attempting to become so.

The MA'ÁḲLA in Kordofán are subdivided as follows:

- SAMÁ'ÍN
- 'ABÁDÍA
- AMÁMIR
- SHEALA
- UM SELMÁN
- BILÁL
- NÁS LÁZIM
- AWLÁD ḤASABULLA
- DÁR WÁLID[3]
- SHERAK[3]
- RIBAYDÁT[3]
- NA'ASNA[3]
- KELABA[3]
- KENÁKÍL[4]
- AWLÁD ḤARAYZ[4]

- DOWRA
- TARŪM
- NÁS SELLÁM
- AWLÁD ḌÁHIR
- SHILAYMÁT
- BISHÁRÍA
- 'AIÁL SHANBŪL
- BISHÁRA
- KAGÁBÍL
- AWLÁD GIMA'A
- „ ABU ḤAMMAD
- UM ZAYÁDA
- 'ABD EL ḤABÍB
- 'ALOWNA
- GHARAYR

Each of the above sections is theoretically classed as either SAMÁ'ÍN or BISHÁRÍA and there is an "'*omda*" of the SAMÁ'ÍN group and an "'*omda*" of the BISHÁRÍA. But the "'*omda*" of each group has many subjects from among the other and no exact dividing line can be drawn.

[1] The Ma'ália would include among these the Ma'áḳla, who are not really Ma'ália at all.

[2] There are none of these in Kordofán. At the end of the "*Turkia*" they were one of the most powerful tribes in Dárfūr (see Slatin, *passim*).

[3] Closely connected.

[4] In Dárfūr.

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## (*n*) THE MESALLAMÍA

XXXIV This tribe claims to be unconnected with the GA'ALIÍN or GUHAYNA group and to be descended from Abu Bukr el Ṣadíḳ, the first Khalifa of Islam. Hence they, like the MASHÁÍKHA, call themselves "Bukría."

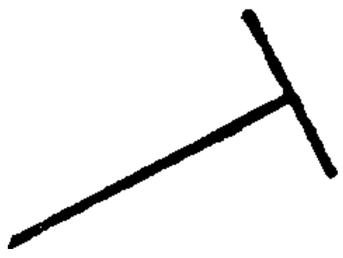
From the "*nisbas*," however, it would seem that they are of kindred origin to the DÁR ḤÁMID and other "GUHAYNA."

They live in the Gezira, where they have given their name to a district, and on either side of the White Nile, and on the east side of the lower reaches of the Blue Nile.

The MESALLAMÍA in the Gezira and on the White Nile are sedentary.

Among their subdivisions hereabouts are the 'ANÁFLA and WASHKÁB, both on the west bank of the White Nile, and, on the east bank, SIBAYKÁB, WANAYSÁB, MEGHAYRÁB, ḤABÁḲIRA, etc.

Those east of the Blue Nile now have a few villages, notably Um Dubbán[1], and cultivate in the Ḥasib and other "*wádis*," but they are chiefly nomadic in their habits, and until about the middle of the nineteenth century were entirely so. Their range, however, is not great and does not extend beyond the western fringe of the Buṭána. They graze their herds and dig "*ḥafírs*" and cultivate some miles inland from the river, but have never acquired proprietary rights to the river banks of the Blue Nile as have the RUFÁ'A and the immigrant MAḤASS.

Their main wealth is in sheep and goats but they have a fair number of cattle and camels also. The latter they brand with a "*ḥashasha*" (hoe) on the neck, thus: 

This nomadic portion of the MESALLAMÍA is subdivided as follows:

- IBRÁHÍMÁB
- ḤAMÁTIRÍA
- ḤUSAYNÁB
- SAHALÁB
- BAMBŪNÁB
- HAḌADÍL

- KHALAFULÁB
- SHUWAYMÁB
- GHUṢAYNÁB
- ṢABRÁB
- RIZḲÁT

[1] Um Dubbán is built chiefly of mud. It was founded seventy years ago by the head of the Ibráhímáb section, father of Sheikh el 'Ebayd Muḥammad Badr. The latter was a well-known Dervish leader and Ḳádi of the Khalífa: he died in 1915. Um Dubbán possesses two imposing "*ḳubbas*" containing the remains of members of the family.

# CHAPTER 3

## *The Guhayna Group* (continued)

### (1) THE BAḴḴÁRA

1 The word "BAḴḴÁRA" means no more than "cattlemen," and it is primarily applied to the large group of closely cognate nomadic or semi-nomadic Arab tribes inhabiting the rich belt of country which may be roughly described as lying south of the thirteenth parallel of latitude and stretching from the White Nile to Lake Chad[1].

Generally speaking the typical BAḴḴÁRA at their best are a dark lithe people with clearly cut handsome features, hawk-eyed, with sparse beards tilted forward and moustaches carefully combed to bristle[2]. The young "bloods" roll their hair in tresses back from the forehead, but with middle age the habit is discarded[3]. They carry a very long-shafted and full-bladed spear. The women and young girls ride on bulls and wear great lumps of amber[4] round their necks and bosses of silver across the forehead. Their hair is brought straight forward in braids on the crown of the head and rolled back into a fringe across the forehead. Large earrings and nose-rings are also worn. They evince little shyness and do not affect the exaggerated modesty and secretiveness which has spread from Egypt along the banks of the Nile. On the contrary, the girls, though never exceeding the bounds of decency, and wearing a "*raḥad*," or a long flap of cloth before and behind, habitually display breasts and thighs to all the world[5].

Among the men it is very frequent to note a cast of face that with

[1] The term Baḳḳára is sometimes applied, quite legitimately, to various other cattle-owning tribes such as the Kenána, the Ḥasanía, the Bedayría of Kordofán, the Ma'ália, etc.; but these, belonging to quite different groups, are only occasionally spoken of as Baḳḳára, and that with special reference to their cattle. The term Baḳḳára in the Sudan, when used in a general sense, is always taken to mean the tribes dealt with in this chapter—the Baḳḳára *par excellence*.

[2] A small comb for the beard and moustache is worn hanging round the neck.

[3] Browne (p. 466, App. II) speaking of the Messíría says they "comb their hair back, twist it, and fasten it in the form of a scorpion's tail behind": a good description.

[4] A fashion common also to the Kanembu. "Les femmes Kanembou aiment beaucoup l'ambre comme parure et, suivant leurs ressources, les morceaux d'ambre dont se composent leurs colliers sont plus ou moins gros" (Carbou, I, 39, 40). Compare Denham, Clapperton and Oudney's description of the Shawía Arabs of Bornu coming to market on their bulls (*Narrative*, p. 167).

[5] For a good account of the Baḳḳára mode of life see Pallme's sixth chapter.

its high protruding forehead, wide mouth and weak chin at once suggests the FELLÁTA, and it is an established fact that large numbers of that race have become incorporated with the BAḴḴÁRA tribes since they first settled in Central Africa. This is of course more especially true of the SALÁMÁT and ḤAYMÁD, the most westernly BAḴḴÁRA, who live among a population that is largely FELLÁTA[1] and who appear to include sections of that people[2]; but it also applies to the more easternly BAḴḴÁRA as we shall see in dealing with the ḤAWÁZMA.

II As a whole the BAḴḴÁRA are, with the possible exception of the SHÁIḴÍA, the most warlike Arabs in the Sudan: they are also the most inveterate slave traders and raiders, and living as they do on the northern confines of the negro country they have indulged their predatory propensities *ad libitum* for so long as they have not been repressed by the firm hand of the Government.

The same qualities that have made them bold fighters and hunters have at all times since their settlement in Africa brought them into collision with the rulers of the more sedentary people who inhabit the zone immediately north of them, with the Sultans and *Meks*, that is, of Bornu, Wadái, Dárfūr and Kordofán.

In the dry season of the year the BAḴḴÁRA move with all their cattle to the rivers of the south and there hunt the elephant and raid the negroes, but when the rains render the southern BAḴḴÁRA country a swamp of cotton-soil infested by the fly they move northwards to the clean pastures of the higher ground and cultivate or graze their herds. It is then that they have been apt to become involved in quarrels with the sedentary people of the Sultanates.

They have not, however, been invariably successful, except in so far as a perennial evasion of the full tribute demanded may be counted success, and in consequence they have at different periods migrated eastwards or westwards along the line of least resistance and various sections have been transplanted from place to place and from tribe to tribe until it is impossible to say how they were originally grouped. In the account which follows I have taken as the units the tribes as they appear at present and specified the various sections subject to each, but it will be at once obvious from a comparison of the lists of these sections and from a study of the past history of the BAḴḴÁRA that no real racial dividing line can be drawn between any one tribe of them and any other.

In Kordofán, where, if one omit the brief orgy of the "*Mahdía*," there has been a settled Government for nearly a century, the

[1] Carbou, II, 51.
[2] See Chevalier, *Afrique centrale française*, p. 321, quoted by Carbou, II, 60.

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may have happened. When the Arabs entered the central states[1] they came no doubt with their camels and sheep: cattle they presumably had none, or but few. As they would have been a nuisance to the sedentary population cultivating the central belt and would have had themselves no security for their herds, they naturally gravitated, some to the more barren spaces of the north, and some to the forests and bogs of the south. The camel of course cannot exist in the south because of the tsetse fly and the poisonous "*gullum*" creeper, and such Arabs as went there imitated the indigenous population and took to cattle-rearing[2]. This is merely suggested as one way in which the tribes may have been divided, but there is no reason to suppose that other causes which are readily imaginable did not also operate to the same end. The southern group intermarried with the older negro inhabitants and became darker in complexion: the northern group mixed in the west to some extent with the TIBBU tribes but remain very much lighter.

v An interesting point may now be discussed. Did the BAḲḲÁRA reach their present habitat by way of the Nile or did they come due south or south-east to the Chad region and Bornu and Wadái from North Africa, and thence spread eastwards to the Nile?

The fact that 'Abdulla el Guhani is generally regarded by themselves as their ancestor, and the fact that they consider the FEZÁRA group as their cousins[3], are obviously arguments in favour of the former view: so also is the evidence of the Sudanese "*nisbas*," which make no suggestion of a south-easternly migration. On the other hand, the "'Abdulla el Guhani" tradition might simply have been appropriated from immigrants from the Nile, and some of the BAḲḲÁRA do state that their ancestors came direct from Tunis or Fezzán with their camels to the countries west of Dárfūr[4], and in giving their genealogy[5] or history others say of some particular forebear: "It was he who brought the tribe from Borḳu" [*i.e.* Wadái: *s.c.* to Kordofán], and these forebears are, as a rule, said to have lived from five to nine generations ago and to be the sons of the eponymous ancestors of the various sections.

But though there is no room for doubting that considerable

[1] They seem to have established themselves by "peaceful penetration" rather than by force of arms.

[2] The Ḥawázma, *e.g.*, told me their ancestors originally "bought a bull and a cow from a Felláti pilgrim."

[3] See genealogical trees at the end of this chapter.

[4] *E.g.* see MacMichael, *Tribes...*, pp. 146, 151.

[5] I have never seen a manuscript Baḳḳára pedigree, but have written down several from oral information and seen several others so compiled. No two ever agree in every respect, but the degree of coincidence is remarkable.

numbers of Arabs did push southwards from Tunis Algiers and Morocco to Central Africa in the centuries following the Hilálian invasion of North Africa[1], and though one may admit that the prevalence of the Abu Zayd el Hiláli tradition among the BAḲḲÁRÀ is a little suggestive, we have the definite statement of Ibn Khaldūn that in the first half of the fourteenth century the GUHAYNA swarmed over Nūbia and rapidly pushed farther afield "following the rainfall[2]," and modern expert opinion has heavily preponderated in favour of the view that the BAḲḲÁRA came from the east. For instance, Barth says[3] of the SHOA (Shawía)—the name given locally to the semi-sedentary BAḲḲÁRA Arabs of Bornu Baḳirmi and Chad, and particularly to the SALÁMÁT:

> Of the migration of these Arabs from the east there cannot be the least doubt. They have advanced gradually through the eastern part of Negroland....Their dialect is quite different from the Mághrebí, while in many respects it still preserves the purity and eloquence of the language of Hijáz....These Shúwa are divided into many distinct families or clans, and altogether may form in Bórnu a population of from 200,000 to 250,000 souls.

He adds that they appear to have immigrated gradually from the east from very early times, "although at present we have no direct historical proofs of the presence of these Arabs in Bornu before the time of Edris Alawóma" (1571–1603); and he mentions the systems of blood-money ("*dhía*"—which by the way maintains among all the nomad Arabs of the Sudan) and infibulation of females as connecting the SALÁMÁT-SHOA with the east[4]. Similarly M. Carbou, who divides the SHOA into two groups, one from the north and the other, the "Guhayna" group, from the east, also remarks[5] that the use of the word "Nūba" for "all indigenous non-Arab Muhammadans" lends weight to the current tradition of an early sojourn in what is now the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan[6]. In the same way the habit in use among the western Arabs of denoting the KANEMBU as "Hamag[7]" points as clearly to a connection with the "Tribes of

[1] *Q.v.* in Part II. The Arabs of Bornu, Baḳirmi and Chad district—chiefly semi-sedentary Baḳḳára—are called Shoa, or Shawía (Barth, "Shúwa" and "Shíwa") by the indigenous tribes.

[2] See p. 139, above.

[3] Vol. II, Ch. XXXII, pp. 355–356.

[4] Vol. III, Ch. LII, p. 465.

[5] Vol. II, pp. 4, 8, 9, 20, 28, 48.

[6] Carbou, II, 47.

[7] *Ibid.* I, 36. Carbou is apparently unaware of the existence of a tribe called Hamag in the eastern Sudan and therefore fails to explain the term. So, too, Nachtigal (*Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 74) says "Les Hammedj's sont les derniers autochtones du Kanem. Ils sont de la famille des Boulala's"—also, it seems, in ignorance of the Hamag of Sennár. There is no evidence of a Hamag movement from east to west or *vice versa* at any time and the term Hamag was probably no more than an Arab importation, used to denote any uncivilized people. An exactly similar use of the word occurs in MS. C 3 II.

Guhayna" who in the sixteenth century had "reached a total of fifty-two tribes in the land of Sóba on the Blue Nile under the rule of the Fung," though most of them were "in the west[1]."

The main "GUHAYNA" group having come from the east as camel-owners and shepherds in the fourteenth and following centuries appear to have straightway pushed as far westwards as Bornu, but how long elapsed before branches of them moved farther south and became BAḴḴÁRA we do not know.

In Kordofán these latter groups had been anticipated by the Ga'ali group from Dongola, who had settled round el Rahad and el Birka and intermarried with the NŪBA, and it may be that the 'GUHAYNA" Arabs first became cattle-breeders in the countries west of Kordofán. But at a later date, five to eight generations ago, there was a return movement eastwards caused by adverse political conditions in the west, and various BAḴḴÁRA groups migrated to join their kin in southern Kordofán.

The BAḴḴÁRA of the west, however, have been joined by arabicized Berbers from North Africa, and it may have been the presence of these latter that has given rise to the doubtful tradition that the BAḴḴÁRA came not from the Nile but from Tunis. At all events it was presumably the difficulty of embodying into their traditions both the Abu Zayd el Hiláli (Tunis) connection and also the real fact of their original migration from the Nile that gave birth to the apocryphal "Great Trek" of Abu Zayd from the east over the Blue and White Niles and Kordofán[2].

VI Let us now take the BAḴḴÁRA tribes separately, from east to west.

### (*a*) BENI SELÍM

Of the BENI SELÍM of the White Nile the "*nisbas*" can tell us nothing of any interest. Their country at present extends nearly as far south as Káka[3], and thus lies north of that of the SHILLUK and the DINKA and south of that of the AḤÁMDA, but it is probably only within the last two centuries that they have been able to dominate the river banks at the expense of the two former tribes.

In the rains the fly drives them northwards, or eastwards over the river[4].

They mix largely with the DINKA, and not being cultivators themselves rely upon them and the SHILLUK for their grain supply[5].

Though BAḴḴÁRA, they have taken, no doubt since their movement to the river, to breeding more sheep than cattle.

[1] See p. 139.
[2] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chap. II.
[3] *Anglo-Eg. Sudan*, I, 130.
[4] *Ibid.* I, 64.
[5] *Ibid.* I, 196.

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trees, which almost always group these two tribes and the TA'ÁÍSHA together.

Nachtigal gives some account of the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD[1] of Wadái and Bornu. They were alleged to be closely connected with the BULÁLA.

Quand cette tribu, venant de l'Est, émigra au Soudan, une fraction demeura au Kordofan, une au Ouadaï, une se fixa au Bahr-el-Ghazal[2], une enfin au Baguirmi et au Fitri. C'est cette dernière fraction qui fut le noyau du grand état qui réunit un jour les territoires des Kouka's, du Fitri et du Kanem. Cette fraction des Oulad Hamed, devenue tout à fait sédentaire, s'était alliée aux Kouka's et en avait adopté le langage (Tar lisi), ce qui n'empêchait la langue arabe d'être restée extrêmement répandue.

It seems, then, that the substratum of the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD of Kordofán is in part BAḴḴÁRA, akin to that of the TA'ÁÍSHA and HABBÁNÍA, and in part NŪBA of the Teḳali type. Their Arab ancestors may have settled round Teḳali at the time of the great GUHAYNA movement, and they have been reinforced by others of their kin who have returned from the western countries whither they had gone at the time that the Kordofán settlement first occurred. As in the case of the ruling family at Teḳali[3], these AWLÁD ḤAMAYD may have absorbed a slight element of the Dongoláwi—sufficient at least to make them aspire to a Ga'ali pedigree—and they certainly intermarried with, or included into their particular group, various families of other BAḴḴÁRA.

The Turkish period provides no more than traditions of grazing disputes and desultory fighting between the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD the HABBÁNÍA and the ḤALAFA section of the ḤAWÁZMA. The eventual result was unfavourable to the first-named tribe and by the date of the outbreak of the Dervish revolt they had lost many of their fighting men and a large proportion of their herds. They attempted to resist the Mahdi at first but were easily crushed, and what was left of the tribe joined the Dervishes.

It was not until the reoccupation of the Sudan that the scattered remnants of the tribe returned to their ancient haunts and were able to re-form.

### (*c*) HABBÁNÍA

VIII The HABBÁNÍA who live between el Rahad and Sherkayla are a branch of the Dárfūr tribe of the same name and immigrated from Kalaka, which is still the headquarters of the main tribe, some four or five generations ago.

[1] "Oulad Hamed—ou Oulad Homeid, dans certaines regions—" (*Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 13).

[2] Not the Baḥr el Ghazál of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan of course.

[3] See MS. "A 7."

Both in Kordofán and Dárfūr they have numerous villages and are less nomadic than the average tribe of BAḴḴÁRA. In the tribal "*nisbas*" they are always connected closely with the TA'ÁÍSHA[1]. The Kordofán section, previously to the *Mahdía*, were generally at loggerheads either with the GAWÁMA'A, the GIMA'A, the ḤAWÁZMA and the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD, or with the people of Teḳali.

In 1876 their numbers were assessed at about 8000[2]: in 1881, when the tribute was reassessed, £E. 215 were demanded from the Kordofán branch as against £E. 2640 from those in Dárfūr[3], but immigration in recent years, particularly by the RIÁFA section, has tended to equalise the numbers of the two branches.

The main tribe in Dárfūr border on the RIZAYḴÁT to the east, the TA'ÁÍSHA to the west, the MASALÁṬ to the north and the DINKA to the south. Their country resembles Dár Ḥumr and Dár Rizayḳát in general, but, extending farther south, suffers more from fly and is more marshy. They cultivate less corn than the BAḴḴÁRA living east of them and rely largely on wild rice and "*dhifra*" (*Pannicum Isachne*). Elephant hunting is much in vogue among them.

As a tribe they are divided into ṬÁRA and SÓṬ[4], but the subtribes of the latter seem to be known collectively as EL ZÍÁDÁT. There is no particular line of cleavage between the Dárfūr and Kordofán portions of the tribe and most, if not all, of the following sections are common to both.

A. ṬÁRA

1. SHEBBA
   - (*a*) AWLÁD ḤAMAYD
   - (*b*) NOALA
   - (*c*) ḤAWÁILA
   - (*d*) MIRAYRÁT
   - (*e*) HILAYLÁT
   - (*f*) SELMÁNÍA
   - (*g*) AWLÁD SA'ŪD
2. SHAYBŪN
   - (*a*) AWLÁD DELÓTA
   - (*b*) UM 'AḲÁB
   - (*c*) AWLÁD MA'ÁFA

[5]
- (*a*) AWLÁD 'ÁÍD
- (*b*) „ ZÁID
- (*c*) „ ABU 'ÁMIR
- (*d*) „ GARGAR
- (*e*) EL DERÁBÍN
- (*f*) AWLÁD BELLO
- (*g*) EL KAMÁRSA
- (*h*) AWLÁD RIḤAYMA
- (*j*) AWLÁD IDRÍS, or UM IDRÍS
- (*k*) EL KÍGAMA
- (*l*) EL MAHÁDA[6]
- (*m*) EL HADAYLI

[1] Cp. Carbou, II, 51, 54, where the Habbánía and Ta'áísha are similarly referred to as being both subtribes of "Hémat" (*i.e.* Ḥaymád).

[2] Prout. [3] Stewart.

[4] The *ṭára* is properly a cymbal, the *sóṭ* a whip. Both occur as names of camel brands. The former is shaped ⟨ and placed on the neck of a camel, the latter is a long perpendicular line branded on the quarters, from the backbone downwards, like a hanging whip. (See MacMichael, *Camel Brands*..., figs. 113, 114, 117.) The terms presumably date back to the time when the Habbánía were camel-owners. Compare the case of the Ta'áísha.

[5] These twelve small sections, all occurring in Kordofán, all belong either to the Shebba or the Shaybūn branches.

[6] See note on p. 83.

B. Sóṭ

- 1. Riáfa
  - (*a*) Awlád Abu 'Ayád
  - (*b*) El Feraygát
  - (*c*) Awlád Abu Nigád
  - (*d*) ,, Sa'adán
  - (*e*) Nás Kelbi
  - (*f*) El Mesá'íd
- 2. Shabūl[1]
  - (*a*) Ḳenát, or Ḳenayát
  - (*b*) Awlád Borḳowi
  - (*c*) ,, Abu 'Ali
  - (*d*) El Bedárín
- [2]
  - (*a*) Awlád Um Sunṭa
  - (*b*) ,, Sa'adán

## (*d*) Ḥawázma

IX The Ḥawázma are perhaps more mixed with purely extraneous elements than any other Baḳḳára tribe, as the "*nisba*"-writers knew[3], and this is due to the fact that during the greater part of the year they live among the villages of Bedayría and other semi-Arab peoples in the country lying immediately north of the Núba hills. Of the three main divisions of the tribe one, the Ḥalafa, is little more than a league[4] of families of Takárír[5] from the west, Gellába Howára and Zenára from the north[6], Gawáma'a and Núba, who in the days of the Fung desired to pasture their cattle under the protection and the name of the Ḥawázma. The large and once powerful Asirra section are in Kordofán reckoned to be Bedayría.

There would seem to be some connection between the true original Ḥawázma and the Beni Ḥarb of the Ḥegáz, who are neighbours of the Guhayna and the supposition may in that case apply equally to most of the Baḳḳára. As evidence of this connection the following passage from Burton's *Pilgrimage*[7] may be cited:

> The Benu Harb is now the ruling clan in the Holy Land. It is divided by genealogists into two great bodies, first, the Banu Salim, and, secondly,

[1] A section of the same name occurs among the Manáṣír, and the best known brand of the Ḥamar Gharaysía and of the Ṭowál Kabábísh is also called the "*shabūl*."

[2] These two small sections, both in Kordofán, belong either to the Riáfa or the Shabūl.

[3] Cp. in particular D I CXXXIV.

[4] Hence their name. They sealed the alliance with an oath (*i.e.* حلفوا "ḥalafū"). For precisely the same custom in Arabia see Robertson Smith, p. 45.

[5] Many villages of Felláta and Takárír are scattered in the Bedayría-Ḥawázma country south of el Obeid.

[6] Both tribes are originally connected with the North African Berbers. The Zenára were a branch of the Luáta. For the Howára see Part II, Ch. I, App.

[7] II, 120; and cp. II, 28, and I, 231, where the "Howazim" are also mentioned as a turbulent section of Ḥarb near Medína. Doughty (*Wanderings...*, II, 135) also mentions "Ḥâzim, an ancient fendy of Harb...snibbed as Heteym."

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why it is that the BAḲḲÁRA in general, and the ḤAWÁZMA in particular, preserve no record or tradition of connection with the BENI ḤARB.

X The present divisions of the ḤAWÁZMA, all of whom are in Kordofán, are as follows. It will be noticed that there are none of those coincidences of nomenclature between them and the BAḲḲÁRA living farther west which would show that overlapping and interpenetration had occurred among the two parties. Such elements in the ḤAWÁZMA as are not original have been absorbed by them in eastern and southern Kordofán.

A. 'ABD EL 'ÁLI
- 1. DÁR GAWÁD
  - (*a*) DÁR BAKHÓTI
  - (*b*) DÁR SHALANGO
- 2. AWLÁD GHABŪSH
  - (*a*) DÁR BAṬ'ḤA
  - (*b*) AWLÁD BA'ASHÓM[1]
  - (*c*) DÁR DEBL
  - (*d*) EL MA'ANÁT
  - (*e*) AWLÁD GAMÁ'A
- 3. DÁR BAYTI
  - (*a*) AWLÁD ABU ÁDAM
  - (*b*) EL ḴURA'ÁN
- 4. DÁR NA'AYLI

B. ḤALAFA
- 1. DÁR 'ALI
- 2. DÁR FÁID
- 3. EL ASIRRA
  - (*a*) UM WAD GÁZA
  - (*b*) AWLÁD GÓMER
  - (*c*) EL ZURRUḲ
  - (*d*) AWLÁD MESHERI
  - (*e*) ,, SERRÁR
  - (*f*) ,, MA'ADA
- 4. AWLÁD GHONAYM
  - (*a*) DÁR IGA
  - (*b*) AWLÁD TADU
  - (*c*) DÁR TANGAL
- 5. EL TÓGÍA

C. ROWOWGA
- 1. DÁR GAMÁ'I
  - (*a*) EL ṬOWÁL[2]
  - (*b*) EL ḴUṢÁR[2]
- 2. AWLÁD NŪBA[3]
  - (*a*) AWLÁD RAḤMA
  - (*b*) DÁR BILÁL
  - (*c*) EL FUḲARA
- 3. DELAMÍA
  - (*a*) AWLAD TAYNA
  - (*b*) SULAYMÁNÍA
  - (*c*) UM MAGINDA
  - (*d*) DÁR 'AGŪL
  - (*e*) EL MŪMINÍN

[1] Ba'ashóm = a jackal.

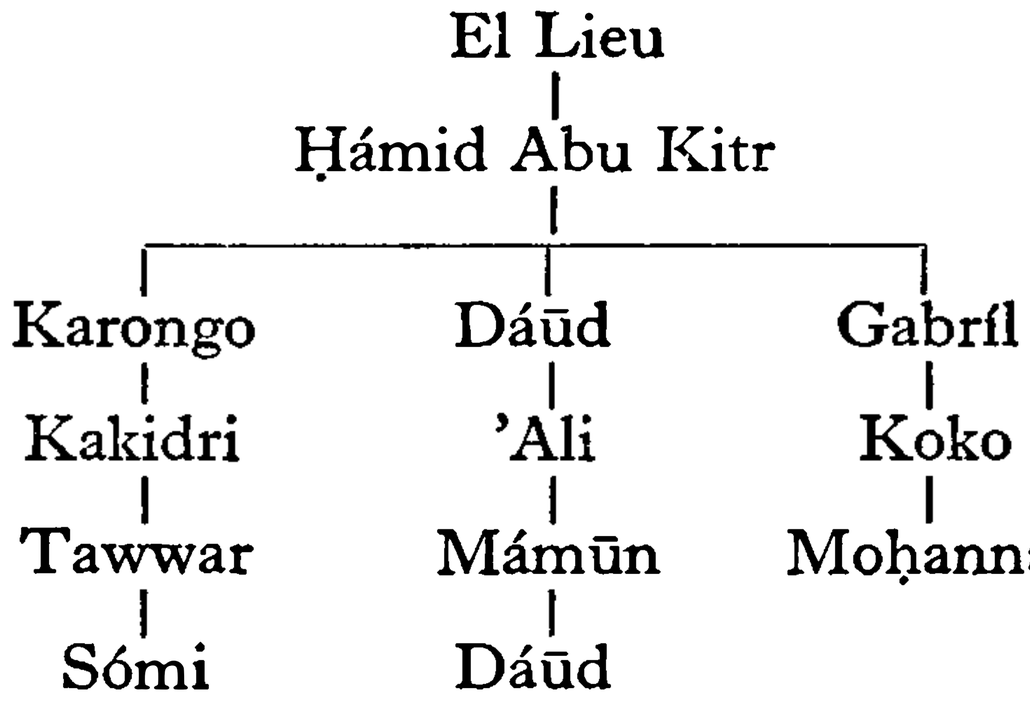
[2] "Ṭowál" = long; "Ḳuṣár" = short.

[3] Nūba is said to have been son of Sanín son of Kashama.

The 'ABD EL 'ÁLI section, like the RIZAYḲÁT, MESSÍRÍA and ḤUMR, generally claim to be descended from 'Aṭía and say they are the true original ḤAWÁZMA. This may well be so: a distinction is commonly drawn, as the trees show, between the descendants of Gunayd through 'Aṭía on the one hand and through Ḥaymád[1] on the other, the TA'ÁÍSHA, the HABBÁNÍA and the BENI ḤELBA falling into the latter group and the ḤUMR, RIZAYḲÁT, MESSÍRÍA and ḤAWÁZMA into the former; but the 'ABD EL 'ÁLI of course contain many alien elements, *e.g.* "EL ḲURA'ÁN," like every other subtribe of BAḲḲÁRA.

Of the ḤALAFA we have already spoken.

The ROWOWGA are alleged by the other ḤAWÁZMA for the most part not to belong to the tribe at all, by descent that is, but to be in part BENI SELÍM and in part KENÁNA, and to have come at some distant period from the east and joined the 'ABD EL 'ÁLI. They probably contain more NŪBA blood than most of the other sections. Not only is one of their main divisions called AWLÁD NŪBA but their names are suggestive: for instance, the head sheikh of the ROWOWGA, Dáūd el Mámūn, gave the following pedigree in 1913 to a Government Inspector[2]:




"Karongo," "Kakidri" and "Koko" are obvious Nūba names, and "cl Lieu" is certainly not Arabic.

We obtain a distinct indication of the approximate date at which the ḤAWÁZMA first broke away from the parent stem by examining the pedigrees of the present generation. The names of the eponymous ancestors of the main sections are quoted as those of sons, grandsons or great-grandsons of the original "Ḥázim," and are generally remembered by all, though the exact relationship of each to other is not; but it is each man's own business to know how he is connected

[1] M. Carbou (II, 51–74) speaks of the Ḥaymád ("Hémat") as the most important division of Baḳḳára descended from Gunayd. He gives their subtribes as following: "Oulád Hemed [Ḥamayd?], Oulâd 'Amer, Noumourra, Djerarha, Selmaniyé, Ta'acha, Nedjmiyé et Habbaniyé," and adds "Aux Hémat se rattachent encore: les Dja'âdné, les Salamat, qui constituent une des tribus arabes les plus nombreuses de l'Afrique Centrale et les Khouzam."

[2] Capt. A. L. Hadow.

with this family of traditional ancestors. To take the case of four prominent Ḥawázma[1]: one in his pedigree gives eight generations as interposing between himself and "Delam" the eponymous ancestor of the Delamía, one gives six and one varies between seven and eight. So among the Awláḍ Nūba seven generations are said to have lived between the present sheikh and "Nūba." One may guess that until seven or eight generations, or 200 to 300 years ago, the Ḥawázma did not exist as a separate tribe, but that the ancestors of the non-alien element among them were counted (*e.g.*) Messíría until they became numerous and powerful enough to break away and call themselves Ḥawázma.

### (*e*) MESSÍRÍA, ḤUMR, TA'ELBA, ḤÓṬÍA, SA'ÁDA AND TERGAM

XI The Messíría and Ḥumr were at one time a single tribe and known respectively as the Messíría Zurruḳ ("dark") and the Messíría Ḥumr ("red"[2]).

One finds them as a rule so referred to in the works of travellers who met them in the nineteenth century in Dárfūr and west of it[3].

In Kordofán, however, the two divisions have become so distinct that the Ḥumr no longer rate themselves Messíría at all, and each tribe has its own "*dár*" and its own sheikhs.

XII Ḥumr. The Ḥumr are divided into the Agaira and the Felaita, and these two independent divisions are again subdivided as follows[4]:

#### The Agaira

A. 'Aiál Khayr

1. Awláḍ Kámil
   - (*a*) Dár Mūta
   - (*b*) „ Um Shayba
   - (*c*) „ Sálim
   - (*d*) Awláḍ Kimayl el Ḥamra
     - (1) Um Sallóg
     - (2) Um Ga'ar
   - (*e*) El Fakárín
   - (*f*) Awláḍ Tuba

[1] Taken from Capt. A. L. Hadow's notes.

[2] This subdivision of Arabs into Ḥumr and Zurruḳ is not confined to the Messíría (see Barth, Vol. III, App. 7). It may have coincided originally with the division into northern and southern, camel-owners and cattle-owners, but there is no real evidence that that is so.

[3] See, *e.g.*, Nachtigal, *Voy. au Ouadaï*, p. 70; Barth, Vol. III, App. 7, p. 545; and El Tūnisi (*Dárfūr*), p. 129.

[4] These lists will be seen to differ in certain details from those given in Chap. XI of my *Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*. For most of the corrections I am indebted to Mr C. A. Willis, who for some years was Inspector of Western Kordofán, and whose lists I have compared with those compiled by the late Capt. W. Lloyd, Mr J. W. Sagar and myself.

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## The Felaita

- A. Metaniín
  1. Awlád Ziáda[1]
  2. El Shámía
  3. Awlád Shabíb
  4. „ 'Arafa
  5. „ 'Aríf
  6. El Ziūd[2]
- B. Awlád Surūr
  1. Awlád Um Khamís
  2. „ Gama'a
  3. „ Um 'Alyán
  4. „ Um Bókata
  5. „ Gafír[3]
  6. El Geráfín[3]
- C. El Gubárát[4]
  1. El Shiba'
     - (*a*) Awlád Abu Hilál
     - (*b*) „ Abu Gakák
     - (*c*) „ Abu 'Íd
     - (*d*) „ Maḥsim
     - (*e*) „ 'Abd
  2. El Gulada
     - (*a*) Awlád Garfa
     - (*b*) „ Budrán
     - (*c*) „ Muḥammad
- D. El Salámát[5]
  1. Awlád 'Ali
  2. „ Sa'ídi
  3. „ Abu Idrís
  4. El Gebábira
  5. Awlád Faḍl
  6. „ Abu Ḳadaym

From an examination of some of the Felaita pedigrees on the lines followed above in the case of the Ḥawázma it appears that they and the Agaira became more or less independent of the Messíría as long as ten generations ago.

The Ḥumr country lies on the extreme west of southern Kordofán, from the neighbourhood of el Oḍaya to the Baḥr el 'Arab, or "Baḥr el Ḥumr." North of Muglad it consists of a great sandy plain, but to the south it is black cotton-soil covered with thick bush and crossed by sandy belts. In the rains the Ḥumr are between Muglad and the confines of the Ḥamar to the north, but in the dry season they and

[1] Cp. El Ziádát among the Habbánía.
[2] For these as a separate tribe farther west see later.
[3] Most of these are in Borḳu, it is said.
[4] El Gubárát are also a main division of the Ta'áisha. Cp. also the Beni Gerár sections. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century there had long been a tribe called Gubárát in Sinai round el 'Aríish. They then moved to Gáza (see Na'ūm Bey, *Hist. Sinai*, p. 108).
[5] For these as a separate tribe farther west see later.

their cattle move southwards to the Baḥr el 'Arab, where they come into contact with the DINKA.

XIII MESSÍRÍA and TA'ELBA. The MESSÍRÍA are a large and powerful tribe in Kordofán, but now only sparsely represented in Dárfūr. In the former province they were by the middle of the eighteenth century the paramount tribe of BAḴḴÁRA as far east as Sherkayla, but the rise of the ḤAWÁZMA in league with the BEDAYRÍA and others led to the MESSÍRÍA being pushed back into the strictly limited stretch of country they now occupy round el Sinūṭ, el Mafūra and the Wádi el Ghalla. In Dárfūr and Wadái too they were, previously to the *Mahdía*, very numerous[1], but the havoc of that era and the exactions of successive Sultans of Dárfūr drove many into south-eastern Wadái (Dár Runga). As soon as the French were established in the north many of these moved into their sphere of influence to escape the clutches of the native dynasts, and now form a considerable proportion of the "Arabes réfugiés au Fitri[2]." These, it may be noted, are largely breeders of camels. They bear a bad reputation as raiders.

The MESSÍRÍA remaining in Dárfūr live a semi-sedentary life in villages round Ḥammádi and Gebel Kirru to the east of Gebel Marra. They belong chiefly to the ZURRUḴ branch and are breeders of cattle and sheep. Among them are a few ḤUMR and a small colony of 'ARAKIÍN from the Gezira.

The "*nisbas*" in general agree that the MESSÍRÍA are closely akin to the Arabian THA'ALIBA, but it is doubtful whether the apparent corroboration as to this point by the Arabian genealogists (*see* note on p. 281) is in fact corroboration at all or whether the tradition of the "*nisbas*" is not merely derived from the Arabian genealogists. It is curious to find in Dárfūr, living with the MESSÍRÍA, a small tribe of THA'ALIBA, or TA'ELBA as they are generally called, and to find Carbou saying of them[3] "Les Ta'âliba descendent de Ta'leb, fils de Missir"—a variation no doubt of the "Meskhir son of Tha'aliba" noticed above. Most of these TA'ELBA live near the south-east corner of Gebel Marra as BAḴḴÁRA, but a few live as villagers in northern

[1] See el Tūnisi, *Ouadây*..., p. 251, and *Darfour*..., pp. 129, 134, 297. Barth (*loc. cit.*) calls them "the third tribe amongst the Wádáy Arabs in respect to numbers." Domboli was their headquarters.

[2] This process began in 1903 and the largest and most recent movement of the Messíría, from S.E. Wadái to Fitri district, took place in 1907. See Carbou, II, 48, 49. Nachtigal (see Carbou, II, 75, 76) regarded them as of practically the same stock as the Salámát.

[3] *Loc. cit.* The same name occurs ("Ta'álba") among the North African Arabs. They were in the desert of Numidia near Taḳdemt in the sixteenth century, and Marmol, who calls them a branch of "Mahequil," *i.e.* Ma'áḳla, assessed them at 44,000 armed men in Algeria. There are still some in the same locality (see Carette, pp. 433–445).

Dárfūr with the Zaghâwa round Ḥashâba. They are usually considered a branch of Messíría.

Their subdivisions are as follows:

- A. Awlád Kamūna
  - 1. Nasayráb
  - 2. Awlád Muḥammad
  - 3. Awlád Ragab
- B. Awlád Ziáda
  - 1. Awlád Nūr
  - 2. Fakárna
- C. Awlád Shuwayḥ
- D. Awlád 'Ebayd
  - 1. Baybish
  - 2. Awlád Burás
- E. Beni 'Áṭif[1]
- F. Mahádi[2]
- G. Rawáína
- H. Na'ímát

The Messíría of Kordofán are subdivided as follows:

- A. Awlád Um Sálim
  - 1. Awlád Sulaymán
  - 2. „ Ḥammūda
  - 3. „ Abu Zaydán
  - 4. „ Muṣbáḥ
  - 5. „ Ebdó
- B. El Ghazáya
  - 1. Awlád Um Raydán
  - 2. „ Khayr
  - 3. „ Bilál
  - 4. „ Agmán
  - 5. „ 'Awaḍa
  - 6. „ Mismár
  - 7. El Ku'ūk
  - 8. Awlád Um Kerábíg[3]
- C. El Diráwi
  - 1. Awlád Kudum
    - (*a*) Awlád Faḍla
    - (*b*) „ Delóṭ
    - (*c*) „ Gháli
  - 2. Awlád Serír
    - (*a*) Abu Khorays
    - (*b*) Awlád Bokhát
- D. El Enenát
  - 1. Awlád Heglíga
  - 2. „ Kidayba
  - 3. „ Hilál
  - 4. El Ḳurūn
  - 5. El Shukría
  - 6. Awlád Nuṣár
  - 7. „ Um Fáris

[1] Cp. 'Awáṭifa and 'Aṭayfát.

[2] See note on p. 83.

[3] The sing. "*kūrbag*" = a whip.

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Their chief subdivisions are as follows:

A. DERÁISA

1. AWLÁD SA'ÍD
2. „ SAYF EL DÍN
3. BASHÍRÍA
4. ḤASABÓN
5. AWLÁD ABU FÁṬIMA
6. ḤAMMADÍA
7. 'AṬÁWÍA

B. ZŪÁÍDA

1. AWLÁD ABU HILÁL
2. „ YÓGA
3. „ SIRBÁL
4. „ EL KÓWAL
5. KÁNGO
6. KHUSHMÍA[1]
7. ḤANASHA

## (*f*) RIZAYḴÁT

XV The RIZAYḴÁT are all in Dárfūr and are the richest and most powerful tribe in that country. They live in the extreme south-east, with the ḤUMR east of them, the DINKA to the south, the HABBÁNÍA to the west, and the MA'ÁLIA and sedentary BIRḴED BAYḴO and DÁGU to the north. Owing to the natural advantages of their country, which in dry weather is bounded on the north by a broad waterless belt and in the rains is marshy, and to their naturally warlike disposition and abundance of horses, they were able to resist all aggression by the Sultan 'Ali Dínár. But whereas a hundred and fifty years ago they roamed in the rainy season over a large part of central Dárfūr they were in his time unable to pass far north of the eleventh degree of latitude lest he should attack them and seize their cattle in settlement of ancient claims.

They cultivate south and west of Shakka at Abu Gabra, Um Maṭárik, el Tuḥama, etc., and in the dry season go south with their cattle to the Baḥr el 'Arab, where raids and counter-raids between them and the DINKA have been of yearly occurrence.

Breeding from slave-women, DINKA, MANDALA (or BANDALA) and SHATT for the most part, has markedly affected the racial purity of the RIZAYḴÁT.

The first Sultan of Dárfūr known to have seriously attempted to deal with the RIZAYḴÁT was Tíráb, in the second half of the eighteenth century. The RIZAYḴÁT foiled him by retiring into the boggy country to the south and harrying his troops on all sides[2]. Since then each successive Sultan was non-plussed in the same way whenever he tried to exact more than a nominal tribute[3], and in consequence large numbers of other Arabs who were less successful or more fearful took refuge with the RIZAYḴÁT. Most of these were HABBÁNÍA, BENI ḤELBA, MA'ÁLIA and BENI KHUZÁM.

[1] These hold the "*naḥás*."

[2] See el Tūnisi, *Voy. au Darfour*, pp. 129, 130.

[3] For the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl's dealings with them see Carbou, II, 77 and 78. In October, 1913, the Rizayḳát completely defeated the Sultan 'Ali Dínár.

XVI The main divisions of the RIZAYḴÁT are as follows:

- A. MAHRÍA[1]
  - 1. UM DAḤÍA
    - (*a*) UM SELLAMA
    - (*b*) AWLÁD MUḤEMMIL
    - (*c*) „ ḤASAN
    - (*d*) „ ZUAYD
    - (*e*) RAḌIÁNÍA
    - (*f*) 'ISHAYSHÁT
  - 2. UM AḤMAD
    - (*a*) NÁS 'ARŪḴ
      - (1) AWLÁD ḴADŪM
      - (2) NÁS GIMÁ'I
    - (*b*) NÁS EL TÓM and AWLÁD MU'WÁN
    - (*c*) AWLÁD ḴÁ'ID
    - (*d*) „ HENÁN
    - (*e*) BARAKA
- B. NAWÁÍBA
  - 1. AWLÁD SULAYMÁN
    - (*a*) DÁR ḤASAN
    - (*b*) „ KUBGA
    - (*c*) AWLÁD UM AZRAḴ
    - (*d*) DÁR FAḌAYLA
  - 2. DÁR BALLŪL
  - 3. RAḤASA
    - (*a*) DÁR UM FEZÁRA
  - 4. AWLÁD SU'UD
- C. MAḤÁMÍD
  - 1. AWLÁD SHÁÍḴ
    - (*a*) EL 'AṬÁYI
    - (*b*) AWLÁD TÁKO
  - 2. UM SAYF EL DÍN
    - (*a*) AWLÁD YASÍN
    - (*b*) „ GIFAYLI
    - (*c*) EL ḤANÁTÍSH
    - (*d*) EL ḤARÁMÍS
    - (*e*) AWLÁD UM LAYK
    - (*f*) EL SHIGAYRÁT
    - (*g*) ASIRRA
  - 3. AWLÁD ZAYT
    - (*a*) AWLÁD BIRRI
    - (*b*) „ DIḴAYL
    - (*c*) „ KERMUSH
    - (*d*) „ JAKÁR

The name of each of the three main divisions is well known as belonging to a large camel-owning tribe in northern Dárfūr and Wadái; but though the MAḤÁMÍD, MAHRÍA and NAWÁÍBA of the

[1] I know no evidence of connection between these and the well-known Ḥimyaritic tribe of southern Arabia (for whom see D 1, VIII; Zwemer, p. 85, etc.), but such connection is quite possible none the less.

north are essentially the same race as those composing the RIZAYḲÁT it will be more convenient to deal with them separately at the close of this chapter[1]. It may be said here, however, in passing, that it is preferable to speak of these three tribes as having united in the south of Dárfūr to form the RIZAYḲÁT than to regard the three tribes as offshoots of the southern Baḳḳára tribe.

### (*g*) TA'ÁÍSHA

XVII The TA'ÁÍSHA, we have seen, are closely connected with the HABBÁNÍA by race and, like them, claim descent from Ḥaymád. With the exceptions to be specified they are confined to Dárfūr[2].

Their name, too, is perhaps best known on account of the Khalifa 'Abdulláhi having been of their number. Many thousands[3] of them were imported by him to Omdurman during his reign and used as a bodyguard and a means of enforcing his will upon the riverain tribes. Dongola Province was for a period entirely under their domination[4].

After the Khalifa's overthrow many of the TA'ÁÍSHA returned to Dárfūr, but colonies of them settled in Sennár and Kassala provinces, and a few elsewhere. Others enlisted in the Camel Corps and Mounted Infantry.

The TA'ÁÍSHA country in Dárfūr lies between that of the HABBÁNÍA on the east, Dár Sula on the west, the BENI ḤELBA country to the north and the negro FERTÍT to the south. It is very sparsely populated at the present time.

The main divisions of the TA'ÁÍSHA are:

A. ḲILÁDA[5]

1. AWLÁD 'ÁMIR
2. „ TÁBIT
3. „ ZÁID
4. „ SELLAMA
5. EL SHOWWASHA
6. EL NEGMÍA
7. EL ḌIÁBÍA
8. AWLÁD EL BIḤAYLI
9. EL DAḲÁILA
   - (*a*) EL BEDRÍA
   - (*b*) EL 'ÍDÁI
   - (*c*) EL BA'ASHÓMI
10. EL BARAKÁWI
11. EL SHELŪḤI
12. EL ḤAḌRÁMÍA
13. AWLÁD ABU MILKA, or ABMILKA
14. EL HADHÁLÍN

[1] There is a fairly large colony of Maḥámíd Awlád Yasín who fall between the two major groups of southern Rizayḳát and northern camel-nomads. These Awlád Yasín live a day south-west of el Fásher round Abu Zerayḳa under a sheikh of their own and are Baḳḳára.

[2] Cp. Carbou, II, 54.

[3] Slatin says "upwards of 24,000 warriors with their wives and families."

[4] *Ibid.* Ch. XIII.

[5] "*Ḳiláda*" and "*erriḳ*" are both names of camel-brands, like "*ṭára*" and "*sóṭ*" in the case of the Habbánía (*q.v. supra*).

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GUBÁRA, and the chief subdivisions of these two branches are as follows:

- A. AWLÁD GÁBIR
  - 1. EL 'ALOWNI[1]
  - 2. EL ZANÁṬÍṬ
  - 3. EL ḤAZÁZIRI
  - 4. EL HADHÁLÍL
  - 5. EL MISÁ'ÍA
- B. AWLÁD GUBÁRA
  - 1. AWLÁD GEMA'ÁN
    - (*a*) DÁR NIMR
    - (*b*) AWLÁD WÁDI
    - (*c*) „ ḤABÍB
    - (*d*) „ ṢUFRA
    - (*e*) „ MŪSA
    - (*f*) EL 'ASHARÍ'A
    - (*g*) EL 'ÁMIRÍA
  - 2. AWLÁD 'ALI
    - (*a*) AWLÁD DHIFRA
      - (1) AWLÁD NI'AMA
      - (2) „ MANŪNA
      - (3) „ AḤMAD
      - (4) „ BILÁLA
      - (5) „ EL SHEIKH
      - (6) DÁR KIBAYDI
    - (*b*) 'USHBŪR (EL SHABŪL?)
      - (1) SAḤÁRNA
      - (2) AWLÁD MUNÍF
      - (3) „ 'ÁBID
      - (4) „ EL SHEIKH
  - 3. AWLÁD GHAYÁD
    - (*a*) AWLÁD DOW
    - (*b*) „ FARÁG
    - (*c*) „ MARAGULLA
    - (*d*) „ EL RUAYS
    - (*e*) EL SELÍMÍA
  - 4. BENI MANDŪL
    - (*a*) AWLÁD SÁLIM
    - (*b*) KURBÍA
    - (*c*) AWLÁD ḤIGGA
    - (*d*) AWLÁD ZÁID
  - 5. BENI LÁBID
    - (*a*) AWLÁD SA'ÍD
    - (*b*) AWLÁD DIḲAYN
    - (*c*) EL ARÁRMA
    - (*d*) AWLÁD UM SERÁG
    - (*e*) AWLÁD MUSAYID
  - 6. AWLÁD GHÁNIM
    - (*a*) ḤUMR
    - (*b*) ZURRUḲ

[1] Cp. the 'Alowna among the Kabábísh and others among the Kenána. The same name occurs in Sinai (Tor) as that of a branch of Muzayna (see Na'um Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, p. 112).

The Beni Ḥelba of Dárfūr are a particularly low type of Arab, poor in spirit and physique, incurably lazy and with none of the finer qualities that distinguish the nomad Arabs of Kordofán.

## (*j*) BENI KHUZÁM

XIX The BENI KHUZÁM are for the most part in Wadái and Dár Sula. A few of them are in Dárfūr and these are at the present moment, and since 1914, refugees living among the RIZAYḲÁT.

The tribe belongs to the ḤAYMAD group of BAḲḲÁRA and through it claims descent from the BENI MAKHZŪM of Arabia[1].

In Wadái a portion in the south are BAḲḲÁRA and a portion in the north owners of camels[2]. Since 1904 many of them have entered the ranks of the "Arabes réfugiés au Fitri." Others, again, are in Baḳirmi[3] with the SALÁMÁT, and in Bornu[4].

M. Carbou subdivides those west of Dárfūr as follows[5]:

A. BAḤARIYE
1. OULÂD 'ALI
2. OULÁD AFAN
3. AM ZIHEFÉ
4. OULÂD ABOU FAHIL
5. OULÂD ZAÏT
6. KANABKÉ ("ou EL MEḤÂMID")
7. OULÂD MAKRAM
8. OULÂD HÉBÉ

etc.

(5–8: Mostly in Baḳirmi)

B. ALALING ("ou ḲALALIK[6]").

He also mentions as subdivisions of the BENI KHUZÁM the "OULÂD ABOU ASSAF, OMEÏRAT et QEBESAT." These latter and some of the Kanábka are in Bornu.

The KHUZÁM in Dárfūr speak of themselves as closely connected with the BENI ḤUSAYN and divided into BAḤARÍA and 'ALÁLÍḲ. The former consist, they say, of ḤAMMŪDA and GEMÁ'A, the latter of 'IMAYRÁT (*i.e.* the "OMEÏRAT" mentioned), ASHEDDAD and SAYF.

[1] Carbou, II, 71–74. Barth (Vol. III, App. 7, p. 545) makes them the fourth largest tribe of Arabs in Wadái. For the Beni Makhzūm see Wüstenfeld, R.

[2] It would be these of whom Nachtigal (*Ouadaï*, p. 71) says: "Physiquement ils ressemblent aux Djaadina's, mais sont alliés avec les Zoghaoua's (Amm Kimmelte)." The "Djaadina" he describes as of a colour "légèrement grisâtre et rougeâtre: ils sont à peu près pur sang arabes" (*loc. cit.*).

[3] Cp. map in El Tūnisi's *Ouaday...*, and Carbou, II. 8.

[4] *Ibid.* Those in Bornu are said to have only settled there about 1830.

[5] *Ibid.* I preserve M. Carbou's spelling.

[6] Some of these also are in Baḳirmi. *Ibid.*

### (*k*) BENI ḤUSAYN

XX The BENI ḤUSAYN are divided between Wadái and Dárfūr. They are only a small tribe, and those in Dárfūr camp in the rainy season west-south-west of el Fásher between Gebel Kussa and Marra, and in the summer farther south. Until moved by 'Ali Dínár some ten years ago they were mostly north of Kulkul.

The sections in Dárfūr are:

- AWLÁD BELLŪL
- „ MŪSA
- „ BAḤR
- „ RÁSHID
- „ 'UḲÁL
- ḤAYṬÁN
- AWLÁD SELLAMA
- „ BAKHÍT
- AWLÁD 'ALAYÁN
- „ SÁLIM
- EL NOÁRNA
- AWLÁD ZIÁDA
- „ GURÁRA
- „ MÁZIN
- EL ENDAIYIN
- EL 'ALÁMÁT

### (*l*) BASHÍR

XXI This small tribe of semi-nomadic BAḲḲÁRA living immediately south of el Fásher belongs to the ḤAYMÁD group. Its subdivisions are:

- AWLÁD SULṬÁN
- „ EL ASAD
- „ ḤAMMADÍA

- AWLÁD ZAYD
- „ SHALÓLI

There is a section of KABÁBÍSH in northern Kordofán who are also called BASHÍR and are probably by origin a branch of the Dárfūr tribe.

### (*m*) SALÁMÁT, BENI RÁSHID AND ZIŪD

XXII Of the SALÁMÁT, BENI RÁSHID (or ROWÁSHDA) and ZIŪD little will be said since they do not inhabit Kordofán or Dárfūr except in negligible numbers, and are then incorporated in other tribes[1].

SALÁMÁT. The SALÁMÁT[2] are one of the largest tribes in Africa and inhabit Bornu, the Chad district, Baḳirmi and southern Wadái. They were also at one time fairly numerous in Dárfūr, but were dispersed and driven westwards. The western branch of the tribe is darker than the eastern and is included in the general term "Shoa." All alike are BAḲḲÁRA, though they also own a certain number of sheep.

Their two main divisions are the 'ÍSÍA and the AWLÁD MŪSA[3], but

[1] Cp. the subdivisions of the Ḥumr Felaita.

[2] See Carbou, II, pp. 56–71; Barth, III (Ch. 42), 136, 137, and III (Ch. 51), 454 and 465, etc.

[3] The former are chiefly in Bornu and Baḳirmi, the latter in Wadái and the Chad district as well.

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the peninsula, I found two who were named respectively ZIŪD and ROWÁSHDA.

There are also a few ZIŪD incorporated among the ḤUMR FELAITA[1] in Kordofán.

In dealing with the ḤAWÁZMA attention was drawn to the connection that existed between that tribe and the BENI ḤARB of Arabia. The same connection appears to exist in the case of some at least of the BENI RÁSHID, for the ZEBAYDÍA (corresponding to the ZEBADA of the west) are properly a section of the BENI 'ÓF branch of the BENI ḤARB[2].

## (2) THE NAWÁÍBA, MAHRÍA, MAḤÁMÍD, 'ERAYḴÁT AND 'AṬAYFÁT

XXIII There remain to be considered the five camel-owning tribes of northern Dárfūr and Wadái who are of the same stock as the BAḴḴÁRA. Three of these, the NAWÁÍBA, the MAHRÍA and the MAḤÁMÍD, have been already mentioned as composing in the south of Dárfūr the great tribe of the RIZAYḴÁT: the fourth is the 'ERAYḴÁT, and the fifth the 'AṬAYFÁT.

All alike claim the GUHAYNA connection and either entered Dárfūr and Wadái in the fourteenth century or rather later[3].

XXIV The MAḤÁMÍD are spoken of by el Tūnisi, who passed through their country[4], as a powerful tribe containing many subdivisions and owning great herds of camels, horses and other wealth in northern Wadái[5]. He says, too, that they have "presque la nuance claire des Égyptiens[6]." In his work on Dárfūr he also mentions them among the FEZÁRA ["Fararah"] group in the north[7].

Nachtigal includes the MAHRÍA, the NAWÁÍBA, the 'ERAYḴÁT and the 'AṬAYFÁT in the term MAḤÁMÍD. He says of them[8]:

Les Mahamid's peuvent fournir au moins quatre mille cavaliers. Ils sont rougeâtres et ont bon caractère; on les dit pieux, bienfaisants et

[1] See list of subsections on p. 286, above.

[2] Burton, *Pilgrimage...*, II, 120. He calls them "Zubayd...near Mecca, a numerous clan of fighting thieves."

[3] M. Carbou speaks (II, 77) on the authority of Slatin (Bk. 1, Ch. 2) of the genesis of the Nawáíba, Mahría and Maḥámíd as being due to the policy of the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl who, having subdued the Rizayḳát, transplanted many of them to northern Dárfūr where they "eventually developed into" the three tribes mentioned. This is misleading. Muḥammad Faḍl may have transplanted Rizayḳát to the north, but they were only rejoining their kinsfolk there and were absorbed into them afresh.

[4] *Voyage au Ouaday*, p. 512.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 250, 251. Cp. Barth, Vol. III, App. 7, p. 545.

[6] *Voyage au Ouaday*, p. 400. Contrast Carbou, II, 80, "un type noir aux traits réguliers."

[7] *Voyage au Darfour*, p. 129.

[8] *Voyage au Ouadaï*, p. 72.

hospitaliers; ils parlent l'arabe le plus pur. Ils habitent au Nord-Ouest du Dar Mimi[1]....Les fractions de cette tribu sont nombreuses, j'ai pu reconnaître les suivantes: les Oulad Djellou[2], les Oulad Cheik[3], les Oulad Yassin[3], les Oulad Zed[3], les Nedja's, les Seif ed din[3] (ou Seifan), les Naouaiba's, les Erekat's, les Mahariye's (Mehriya?), les Oulad Djenab, les Hamdiya's, les Et teiyifat's[4].

These Nachtigal classes among the camel-owning nomads. His estimate of their character was not accurate. They are and always have been inveterate raiders; "intelligents, astucieux, menteurs[5]"; lax in their religion and resentful of all control. Among them is a smattering of Ḳura'án[6].

The number of camel-owning Maḥámíd in northern Dárfūr since the "*Mahdía*" has been inconsiderable in comparison with those living farther west, but about 1908 a number of Maḥámíd (Awláḍ Sháíḳ) from Wadái, commonly known as "Um Gallūl," migrated into Dárfūr and settled with the Shóṭía and Awláḍ Sháíḳ sections north of el Fásher—where they say they had been some three or four generations previously, before they went to Wadái. In 1914 some of these migrated still farther east and went to Kordofán. In 1916, on the death of 'Ali Dínár, they returned to Dárfūr.

The subdivisions of the northern Maḥámíd in Dárfūr correspond fairly closely to those of the Baḳḳára branch who form a third of the Rizayḳát: they are as follows:

A. Awláḍ Sháíḳ
  1. Um Sayf el Dín
  2. Um Gallūl (*a*) Awláḍ Gilál
    (1) Awláḍ 'Íd
    (*b*) Awláḍ Mablūl
    (*c*) ,, Bilayli
    (*d*) ,, el Rifayik
    (*e*) ,, Táko
    (*f*) ,, Ráshid[7]

B. Awláḍ Yasín. Already mentioned as being cattle-owners and living in an intermediate position between the southern Baḳḳára and the camel-owners.

C. Shóṭía

D. Awláḍ Zayt. Partly camel- and partly cattle-owning. They live round Ṭína, between el Fásher and Gebel Marra.

[1] *I.e.* in Wuráda district: see Carbou, II, 79.
[2] Presumably the "Um Gallūl" mentioned later.
[3] Cp. subsections of Maḥámíd among the Rizayḳát as given above, and Carbou II, 83.
[4] *I.e.* the 'Aṭayfát, for whom see later.
[5] Carbou, II, 80, quoting Lieut. Lucien.
[6] Carbou, II, 83.
[7] Awlád Ráshid from Wadái who have attached themselves to the Um Gallūl.

XXV The NAWÁÍBA of the north are the same in type as the MAḤÁMÍD but fewer, and live among them. In addition to these and the NAWÁÍBA among the RIZAYḴÁT in the south, there is an independent BAḴḴÁRA tribe of NAWÁÍBA in south-eastern Wadái[1].

XXVI The MAHRÍA fall under the same classification as the MAḤÁMÍD and NAWÁÍBA, and are usually mentioned in company with them[2]. Those in Dárfūr live with the MAḤÁMÍD between Kuttum and Gebel Marra at the present day and are not numerous. Their sections are:

- ḤAMDÁNÍA
- UM AḤMAD
- AWLÁD HENÁNI
- AWLÁD ḴÁID
- „ BAZḴI
- „ SA'ÍD
- „ 'ALI
- „ BISHÁRA
- „ DIRAI

XXVII Akin to them and generally claimed to be MAHRÍA are the camel-owning 'AṭayfÁt[3] who live round Melliṭ and in Anka district to the north. There they are subdivided into AWLÁD BARAKA, AWLÁD 'AGAYL and AWLÁD GOWNA. They say they have also two sections, ḤAGAIA and AWLÁD NUṢR in Wadái, and one, the 'AKÁKÍZ, in southern Dárfūr with the RIZAYḴÁT.

XXVIII The 'ERAYḴÁT also belong to the same group[4]. They were chiefly in north-western Dárfūr until the time of the Sultan Muḥammad Faḍl, but that ruler attacked them and decimated their numbers and delivered their grazing-grounds over to the MAḤÁMÍD and others. The survivors fled northwards. At present most of the 'ERAYḴÁT are camel-owners round el Fásher and in the north-west. Some are further afield in the Ennedi district with the BEDAYÁT and in Dár Táma[5]. El Tūnisi[6] also mentions them as a rich BAḴḴÁRA tribe in south-western Wadái, but his story to the effect that their name was derived from el 'Iráḳ, *i.e.* Mesopotamia, and that they were connected with the BENI LAKHM and GUDHÁM ("Djouzâmides") was probably pure invention. The 'ERAYḴÁT of Dárfūr are divided into ZEBELÁT on the one hand and a group consisting of DIMAYSÁT, NAṢRÍA, AWLÁD ḴERRU and MINÁWÍA on the other.

[1] Nachtigal mentions them as camel-owners in Wadái: see *Voy. au Ouadaï*, pp. 40, 50, 72, 109; and cp. map to el Tūnisi's *Ouadây* and Carbou, *loc. cit.*

[2] *E.g.* see Nachtigal, *Ouadaï*, pp. 65, 70, 72, 93; Tūnisi's map, etc. See also Carbou, II, 78–79.

[3] Their name is no doubt formed from a diminutive of "'uṭfa" (see note to MS. D 3, 132). It also occurs as that of a section of 'Anaza in northern Arabia, (Burckhardt, *Notes...*, I, 4).

[4] Cp. Nachtigal, *Ouadaï*, p. 72.

[5] Carbou, II, pp. 74, 75

[6] *Ouaday*, p. 250 and map.

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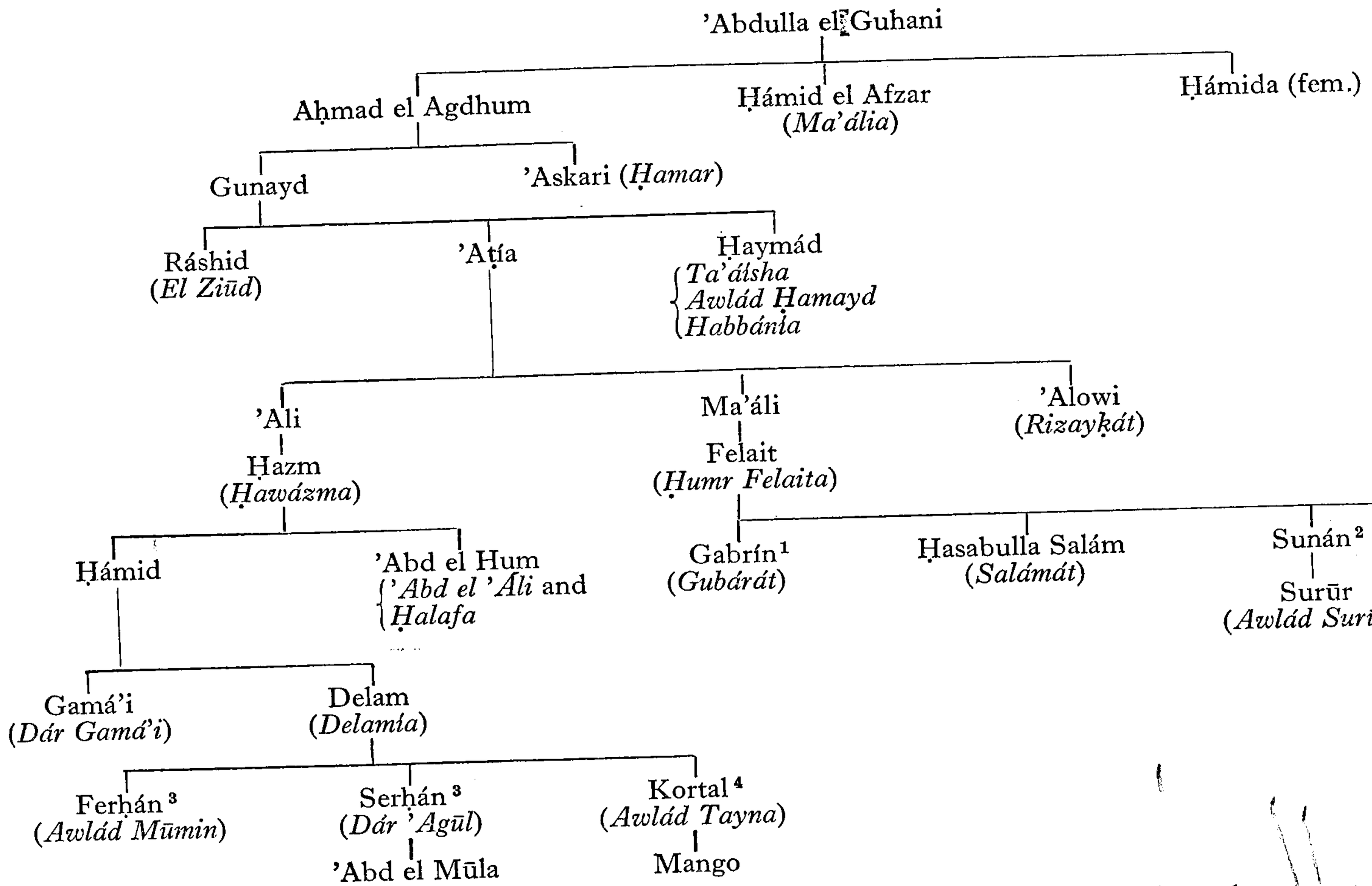
- 'Abdulla el Guhani
  - Dhubián
    - Aḥmad el Agdhum (the Leper)
      - Ráshid (*Rowáshda, viz.* *'Awáṭfa*, *Ziūd*, *Awlád Fáḍil*, *Ḥámida*)
      - Gunayd
        - 'Aṭía
          - Messir (*Messíria*, *Hawázma*, *Ḥumr*)
          - Rizayḳ (*Rizayḳát*)
            - Maḥmūd (*Maḥámíd*)
              - Sháiḳ (*Awlád Táko*, *Awlád 'Aṭaywi*, *Awlad Mirmi*)
              - Sayf el Dín
                - Baraka (*Awlád Serír*, *Shigayrát*, *Awlád Bashír*, *Awlád Raḥma*, *El Shámía*)
                - Mubárak (*Ḥarámís*, *Ḥanátish*, *Awlád Muḥammad*, *Awlád Gifayla*, *Awlád Milayk*)
            - Náib (*Nawáíba, including Awlád Ḳáid*)
            - Máhir (*Mahría*)
              - Um Aḥmad (*Um Sirayra*, *Awlád Baraka*)
              - Um Daḥía (*Awlád Ḥasan*, *Awlád Um Sellama*)
          - 'Erayḳ (*'Erayḳát*)
        - Ḥaymád
          - Shurra (*Awlád Shurra in Borḳu*)
          - Muḥammad Sharára (*Awlád Muḥammad in Borḳu*)
          - Ḥamayd (*Awlád Ḥamayd*)
          - Níl
            - Ta'áish (*Ta'áisha*)
            - Ga'atán (*Ga'átna*[1] *in Borḳu*)
            - Habbán (*Habbánía*)
            - Muslim (*Beni Selím*)
      - Magnūd
        - Ḥelba (*Beni Ḥelba*)
          - Gama'án
            - Gábir (*Awlád Gábir*)
            - Gubára (*Awlád Gubára*)

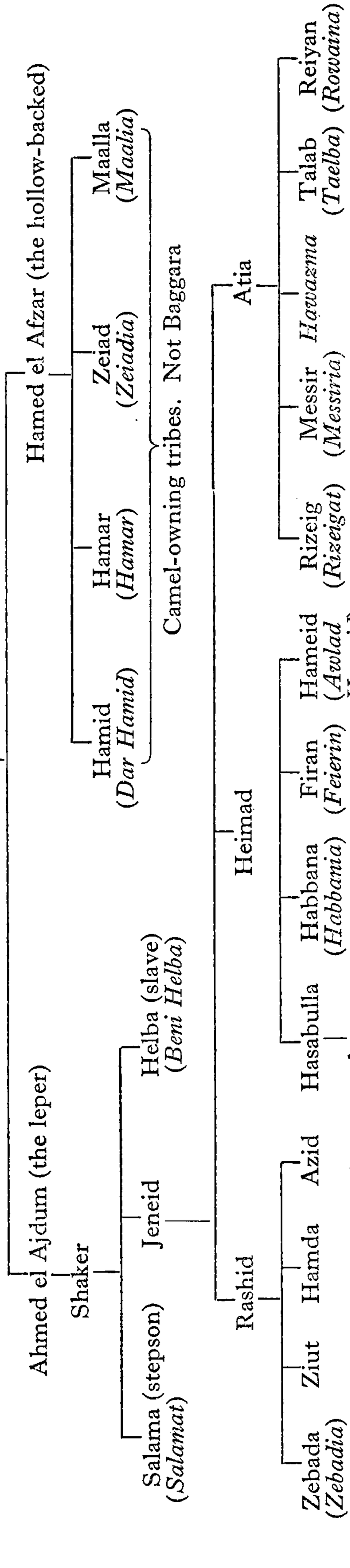
[1] Burckhardt (*Nubia*) mentions the "Ghyatene" as a "strong tribe" in S.E. Kordofán. Escayrac de Lauture (*Bull. Soc. Geog.* Aug.–Sept. 1855, p. 48) speaks of "Djeateneh" as in Wadái and Baḳirmi only.

# TREE II.




[1] Immigrated from Arabia to Borḳu (Wadái).
[2] Is the eleventh generation from the present.
[3] Twins.
[4] Is the ninth generation from the present.

## TREE III.


Shaker (descended from BENI ABBAS tribe)
Ahmed el Ajdum (the leper)
Shaker
Salama (stepson) (Salamat)
Jeneid
Helba (slave) (Beni Helba)
Hamid (Dar Hamid)
Hamar (Hamar)
Zeiad (Zeiadia)
Hamed el Afzar (the hollow-backed)
Maalla (Maalia)
Talab (Taelba)
Reiyan (Rowaina)
Camel-owning tribes. Not Baggara
Rashid
Heimad
Azid
Habbana (Habbania)
Firan (Feierin)
Hameid (Awlad Hameid)
Zebada (Zebadia)
Ziut
Hamda
Hasabulla
Amr
Ahmed "Taaish" (Taaisha)
Rizeig (Rizeigat)
Messir (Messiria)
Atia
Hawazma
AWLAD RASHID

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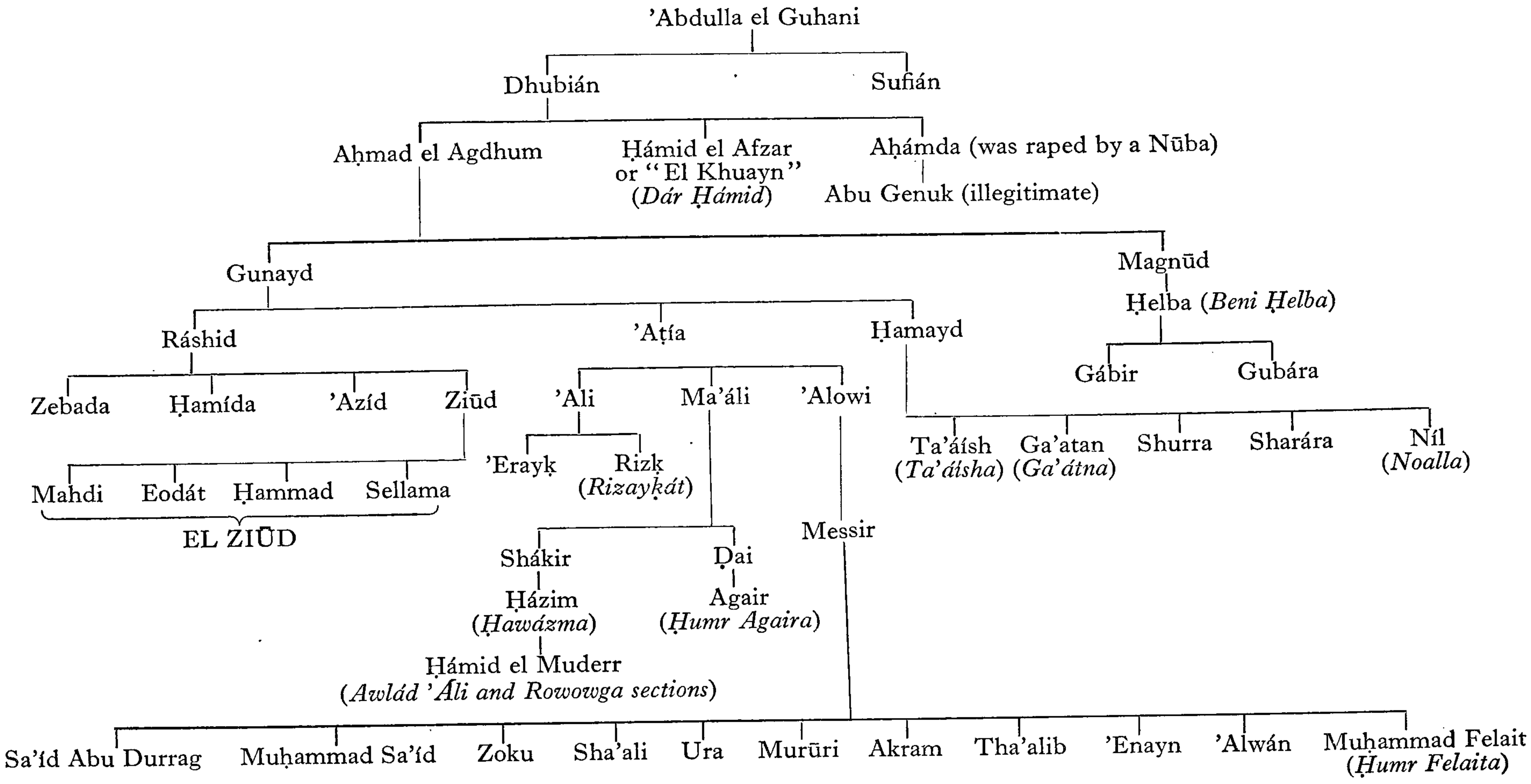
# TREE V.


'Abdulla el Guhani
Dhubián
Sufián
Aḥmad el Agdhum
Ḥámid el Afzar or "El Khuayn" (Dár Ḥámid)
Aḥámda (was raped by a Nūba)
Abu Genuk (illegitimate)
Gunayd
Magnūd
Ḥelba (Beni Ḥelba)
Ráshid
'Aṭía
Ḥamayd
Gábir
Gubára
Zebada
Ḥamída
'Azíd
Ziūd
'Ali
Ma'áli
'Alowi
Ta'áish (Ta'ásha)
Ga'atan (Ga'átna)
Shurra
Sharára
Níl (Noalla)
Mahdi
Eodát
Ḥammad
Sellama
EL ZIŪD
'Erayḳ
Rizḳ (Rizayḳát)
Messir
Shákir
Ḍai
Ḥázim (Ḥawázma)
Agair (Ḥumr Agaira)
Ḥámid el Muderr
(Awlád 'Áli and Rowowga sections)
Sa'íd Abu Durrag
Muḥammad Sa'íd
Zoku
Sha'ali
Ura
Murūri
Akram
Tha'alib
'Enayn
'Alwán
Muḥammad Felait (Ḥumr Felaita)

# CHAPTER 4

## *The Guhayna Group* (continued)

### (*a*) THE KABÁBÍSH[1]

I The KABÁBÍSH perhaps present a more interesting study in racial composition than any other tribe in the Sudan.

At the present they are outwardly a homogeneous whole under the control of a supreme sheikh ("*názir*") to whose authority the sheikhs of the subtribes and the individuals alike bow. They are also the largest and most wealthy tribe of camel-owning nomads in the country. The term "tribe" is therefore quite applicable to them; but none the less they are really a congeries of heterogeneous Arab elements[2], modified to some extent by Hamitic (BEGA and BERBER) and negro (slave) admixture, but more essentially Arab than the majority of the nomadic tribes and, *a fortiori*, than any of the sedentary population.

II The growth of the tribe to its present state is the result of a series of accretions which have been taking place for several centuries, and the particular cause responsible for this process has been the geographical advantages offered by the country inhabited by the KABÁBÍSH. This comprises the whole of the high land of which the line Um Bádr-Katūl-Kagmár-Um Inderába is, approximately speaking, the southern boundary.

On the north the KABÁBÍSH are only limited by the deserts of the Sahara. Westwards they wander beyond the Wádi el Melik to the Dárfūr border, and on the east, in the dry season, they water their flocks in the Wádi Muḳaddam. There is also a large section of the tribe in Dongola Province, chiefly nomadic but having some cultivation in the Nile valley.

In northern Kordofán they have certain patches of cultivation in the vicinity of their chief watering places, but the cultivators are only dependants left behind for the purpose while the tribe as a whole is grazing further afield, or, occasionally, poor men who have only a few sheep and goats.

[1] See also MacMichael, *Tribes...*, Chap. XV, and in Vol. XL, 1910, of *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.*

[2] Their heterogeneity is indicated by the diversity of their camel-brands. There is no single brand peculiar to the tribe nor any trace of such. Each main division, however, has a brand common to all its members. These are specified in my brochure on *Camel Brands used in Kordofán*, and certain of them are mentioned in the course of this chapter.

The natural features of the country they inhabit are eminently suitable for the breeding of camels and sheep, and in its southern portion for cattle rearing. To one familiar with these level or gently undulating stony tracts, intersected by numerous more fertile shallow valleys and dotted with rocky outcrops, a description of the highlands of Nejd in Arabia, taken apart from its context, reads as though it must refer to the KABÁBÍSH country.

When the obstacle of the Christian kingdom of Dongola had been swept away at the beginning of the fourteenth century by the Arabs, and the tribes of GUHAYNA and their allies poured into the Sudan, many of these, finding the eastern desert sufficiently occupied by other Arab and BEGA tribes, betook themselves to the hardly less congenial tracts lying west of the river. It has already been explained[1] that these parts were not previously unoccupied. The Arabs found there bands of negro-Hamitic TIBBU and, in the hills, colonies of "NŪBA," and it may have taken them several centuries to establish a complete ascendancy over the plains. The fringe of hills from el Ḥaráza to Kága they never attempted to conquer, and it was not until five or six generations ago that they had entirely extirpated the NŪBA from the far less formidable and now uninhabited hills lying farther north and well within the present "*dár*" EL KABÁBÍSH.

III The name of KABÁBÍSH (*sing*. Kabbáshi) is popularly derived in the usual manner from a purely fictitious ancestor called Kabsh[2], but is more properly to be connected with the word "*kabsh*," a ram[3]. At what period the name was adopted there is no evidence[4]. The names of certain of the subtribes and what little can be learnt of their past history confirm the conclusion, to which one would arrive in any case on historical grounds, that they came originally from the northern portion of the Ḥegáz.

Let us take examples:

IV The section which lives round Um Inderába and Um Sidr and is essentially a sheep-breeding community is the AWLÁD 'UḲBA. Tradition tells us that they were "the original KABÁBÍSH[5]" and held

[1] See Part I, Ch. 2.

[2] He generally appears as "son of Afzar"—who again is descended from "'Abdulla el Guhani," the intent being to connect the Kabábísh suitably with the Fezára and Guhayna groups.

[3] Cp. the formation of Ma'áza from "*ma'az*" (he-goats), and of "'Anaza" from "*anz*" (she-goats), and perhaps of "*Shoa*" from "*shá*" (sheep). Cp. Carbou, II, 20, and Burton, *Land of Midian*, I, 336.

[4] The Kabábísh use the word "*takabbasha*" to describe the collecting together of the various component parts into a single tribal whole.

[5] The first of the present sections to join them are said to have been the Rowáḥla (*sing*. Ráḥli) and the Awlád 'Ón. These, according to very vague tradition, were followed by the Serágáb, Awlád Ḥawál and Nūráb.

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give up their privilege of escorting the pilgrims. He also relates the tale of their wars with the MA'ÁZA in the early sixteenth century, and with the BELI who lived south of them.

Most of the BENI 'UḲBA who went to Egypt joined the BENI HILÁL and appear among the subtribes of that great congeries as enumerated by Ibn Khaldūn and cl Maḳrízi.

Leo Africanus (c. 1495–1552) refers to them as "Hucban": "The kingdom of Hucban are next neighbours unto the region of Melian, who receive certain pay from the King of Tunis. They are a rude and wilde people, and in very deade estranged from al humanitie: they have (as it is reported) about 1500 horsemen[1]." At what period, or by what route, they came to northern Kordofán there is no direct evidence.

V Another large branch of the KABÁBÍSH, a rich camel-owning folk, are the 'AṬÁWÍA (*sing*. 'Aṭawi). The form "'AṬÁWÍA" is the equivalent of "BENI 'AṬÍA," and I have little hesitation in connecting these people through the 'AṬIÁT (or 'AṬAWÁNI) Beduin of the Thebaid[2] with the BENI 'AṬÍA of Arabia, whose name so frequently occurs in conjunction with that of the GUHAYNA, FEZÁRA and BENI HILÁL.

The fact that the 'AṬÁWÍA in Kordofán all use the brand Y and that the BENI 'AṬÍA of Arabia use ⅄ merely strengthens the conviction[3].

At the time of the Hilálian invasion, in which, it will be remembered, the FEZÁRA also took part, the BENI 'AṬÍA were reckoned a section of the ATHBEG, the largest branch of the BENI HILÁL, and settled in the Algerian province of Constantine[4]. Ibn Khaldūn says they there became enfeebled and disappeared; and if a large number of them detached themselves from the BENI HILÁL to migrate to the Sudan this would account for the fact.

However in the middle of the nineteenth century there were some 3000 of them in Constantine and some 500 in the Sahara. They are regarded there as Berbers[5].

[1] Leo, I, 144. Marmol (c. 1520 A.D., Bk. I, Vol. I, p. 80) borrows this account without acknowledgment from Leo and adds that they had 10,000 infantry as well.

[2] Klippel, pp. 5 and 8. He speaks of them as "d'origine berbère" and groups them with the Beni Wáṣil.

[3] There are still many Beni 'Aṭía in Arabia. Palgrave in 1862 computed their numbers at about 6000. He places them in the northern Ḥegáz between el Jowf and Muwayla and says they and the Ḥarb infest the pilgrim road to Medína (Vol. II, pp. 86 and 208, and map in Vol. I). Doughty (*Wanderings*..., pp. 164, 175, 278) mentions them as subject to Ḥáyil and living with the Guhayna near Tayma. Wallin (*q.v.* p. 310) met them with the Ma'áza in el Ḥismá east of Muwayla and at Tebūk. For their brand see Doughty, *Travels*, I, 125.

[4] See Ibn Khaldūn, ed. de Slane, pp. 28 ff.

[5] Carette, p. 445. The Fezára are mentioned in company with them.

The 'Aṭáwía of Kordofán are generally considered to be Kawáhla by origin, but this may mean no more than that when the bulk of the Kawáhla joined the Kabábísh[1] the 'Aṭáwía came with them.

There are also cattle-owning 'Aṭáwía farther south among the Rizayḳát Baḳḳára, and we have already seen that "'Aṭia" is one of the most generally accepted and best known of the traditional Baḳḳára ancestors.

VI The Núráb, the richest and also the ruling section of the Kabábísh, claim to be properly Rikábía from el 'Afáṭ in Dongola[2]. The Serágáb are said to be Kenána[3]. The Berára are Ga'aliín[4]. The Awláḍ Sulaymán say they are an offshoot of the great tribe of the same name which was once settled between the Great Syrtes and Fezzán and which terrorized Borḳu Bornu and Kánem in the nineteenth century[5].

The Awláḍ 'Ón, a sheep-owning section round Gabra, were probably identical, some generations ago, with the 'Ónía branch of the Sháíḳía.

The 'Awáída[6] say their eponymous ancestor 'Áid was a famous "*feki*" from Aden. As they do not appear under their present name in the manuscripts one might be apt to suppose that they were newcomers to Africa, who since their arrival had absorbed the families of Bega Kanúz and Sháíḳía[7] which are to be found among them. But it is much more likely that the true 'Awáída, who have absorbed these foreign families, are of common stock with the 'Áídáb of Dongola, whom we have met previously both among the Sháíḳía and the Bedayría.

For a time the 'Awáída were with the Rufá'a in the East between the Rahad the Dinder and the Atbara rivers, and a certain number of them remain there still[8]. But the greater number crossed the river and joined the Kabábísh. This probably occurred about the beginning of the nineteenth century[9].

[1] *Q.v. sub* Kawáhla (Chap. 5 to follow).

[2] See D I CXIII.

[3] Cp. *sub* Kenána (Chap. 6).

[4] They probably joined the Kabábish comparatively recently. They alone of all the sections brand their camels on the left side.

[5] See note to Tūnisi's *Voy. au Ouadây*, p. 660; also for a full account of them see Carbou, I, 85–103, and 31–35, and Barth, Vol. III, Chap. XL, pp. 61 ff. Those now settled in the Chad region are of the Tripolitan Arab type.

[6] *Sing.* 'Áídi.

[7] Viz. the 'Adlánáb section.

[8] The only sections I have met have been some Kanzáb and Mūsiáb at 'Id el 'Awáída in el Kámlín district.

[9] Their division into Zurruḳ and Bayyiḍ (*i.e.* dark and light) has reference to the colour of their camels and not to themselves. Dark camels are the rule among the "south and middle tribes, Harb, Metayr, and Ateybân" in Arabia (Doughty, *Wanderings...*, II, 125).

VII The subdivisions of the KABÁBÍSH are as follows:[1]

A. NŪRÁB[2]
1. RIBAYḲÁT
(a) AYÁYÍD
(b) DERAYWÁB
(c) FERŪḤÁB
(d) AḤAYMERÁB
(e) BÁṬÁB
(f) UM SIRAYḤ
2. DÁR KEBÍR
3. DÁR UM BAKHÍT
4. AWLÁD EL KÍR
5. NEḲÁDA
6. DÁR SA'ÍD
7. KIBBAYSHÁB
(a) NÁS WAD YŪSEF
(b) MESÁ'ÍD
(c) NÁS WAD SHET'ḤÁN
(d) NÁS WAD DUḲUSHAYN
8. AWLÁD 'AWAḌ EL SÍD
9. AWLÁD NŪÁÍ
10. HOWÁRÁB[3]
(a) AWLÁD DÁBO
(b) ,, 'ALI
(c) RAḤŪDA

B. AWLÁD ḤAWÁL[4]
1. DÁR ḤÁMID
2. DÁR MAḤMŪD

C. AWLÁD 'ÓN[5]
1. LABÁBÍS
2. BERÁSHA
3. ḲURŪNÁB
4. DÁR EL ḤÁG
5. TAMÁSÍḤ[6]
6. LIKAYRITÁB

D. AWLÁD ṬERAYF[7]
1. MERAYḲÁT
2. 'ÍSHÁB
3. 'ALOWNA[8]
4. GERÁMDA

E. GHILAYÁN[7]

F. ṬOWÁL[9]

G. 'AWÁÍDA[10]
1. EL 'AWÁÍDA EL ZURRUḲ
(a) NÁS WALAD RAḤMA
(b) ,, ,, MAḲBŪL
(c) ,, ,, EL HILÁLI
(d) ,, ,, RÁBIḤ
(e) ,, ,, EL BESHÍR
(f) ,, ,, EL NI'AMA
2. EL 'AWÁÍDA EL BAYYIḌ
(a) BISHÁRÁB
(b) 'ADLÁNÁB
(c) SUNŪNÁB

[1] The list given by Parkyns includes also Aḥámda ("Lahamdy"), Guhayna, Kawáhla, Baṭáḥín, Shenábla, Ḳerriát and Ghazáya, all of which have now broken away. In each case it was only a section of these tribes which was living under the aegis of the Kabábísh at the time.

[2] Their distinctive camel-brand is the "*ba'ag*" ("rip in the belly"), a long horizontal line on the right side of the stomach. Nearly all add one or two short "*dhira'as*" on the foreleg. For details *re* these and other Kabábísh camel-brands see my *Camel Brands*..., pp. 16 *et seq.*

[3] These include an element of Dóálíb (Rikábía or Danágla).

[4] Their distinctive brand is a "*Ku*'" (a mark on the upper joint of the foreleg). "*Ku*'" = a joint.

[5] Probably of Sháíḳía origin. See p. 220, and p. 99 for the Labábís among the Fūr. There are "Awlád 'Óna" Beduin in Egypt (see Klippel, p. 6).

[6] *I.e.* "Crocodiles."

[7] Both sections use an "'*amūd*" as brand on the right side of the camel's neck.

[8] Cp. list of subsections of Beni Ḥelba and of Kenána.

[9] Connected on the one hand with the Rufá'a (*q.v.*) and on the other with the Shabárḳa (*q.v. sub* Rufá'a). Their brand is the "*shabūl*," or "*shaiba*" (*q.v.* on pp. 210 and 280).

[10] Their brand is a very long "*shábiṭ*" on the right shoulder.

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B. Meraysáb[1]
C. Gungonáb
D. 'Awáída
E. Báy'ūdab
F. Aḥaymeráb
G. Bilaylát
H. Dár Bashūt
J. Deládím
K. Dár Ḥámid[2]

IX It has been mentioned that the Nūráb are at present the ruling section. They have held that position for eight generations, that is to say since Kurbán of the Ribayḳát surrendered the chieftainship to his sister's son Kerádim of the Nūráb[3], whose descendants have since inherited it in succession to one another though not always from father to son[4].

X The Kabábísh are first mentioned by Bruce in 1768–1773, but so few travellers had visited the Sudan before him, and the records of such as did so are so scanty that one certainly cannot assume that the tribe was not called Kabábísh for scores of years previously.

Speaking of Wad 'Agíb's collecting tribute, as the representative of the King of Sennár, from the nomads of the Bayūda desert, Bruce says[5]: "though lately the Beni Gerar, Beni Faisara [*i.e.* Fezára] and Cubbabeesh have expelled the ancient Arabs[6] of Bahiouda [*i.e.* the Bayūda], who pretend now only to be the subjects of Kordofan." Again, he says[7] that the road across the Bayūda is impassable because of the "Beni Faisara, Beni Gerar and Cubbabeesh...which come from the westward near Kordofan from fear of the black horse[8] there," and have taken all the wells. The Kabábísh are "very numerous and extend far north into the great desert Selima and to the frontiers of Egypt[9]."

Browne[10] says of them that they infested the vicinity of Bir el Málḥa (*i.e.* Bir Naṭrūn) in his day and lived by plundering the caravans from Egypt.

El Tūnisi[11] says they assisted Háshim, the Sultan of the Musa-ba'át of Kordofán, in his wars against Tíráb, Sultan of Dárfūr, towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Burckhardt[12] in 1813, referring to Dongola, says: "The Bedouin tribe of Kobabish reside in the country and are continually making incursions into Darfour, from whence they carry off slaves."

[1] Use a "*ḥadd*" as brand.
[2] Use a "*hilál*" ("crescent moon") on the neck.
[3] Note this evidence of the ancient custom of Dongola whereby the sister's son inherits.
[4] See MacMichael, *Tribes...*, p. 194, and genealogical tree opposite.
[5] Vol. VI, Chap. X.
[6] Probably such as the Ḳerriát are meant.
[7] *Loc. cit.*
[8] Probably the cavalry of the Fūr, then paramount in northern Kordofán.
[9] Bruce, *loc. cit.*
[10] Pp. 188 and 247.
[11] *Voy. au Darfour*, p. 67.
[12] *Nubia*, p. 67.

Cailliaud (1821) mentions them as exporting salt from northern Kordofán and, when the Turks conquered the Sudan, pretending to submit but paying none of the tribute demanded of them.

In the Turkish days they were largely engaged in the transport trade, but were fleeced and swindled unmercifully by the Turks who had always the advantage of being able to seize the KABÁBÍSH herds when the hot weather drove them to the river and the well-known watering-places[1].

In 1883 the Mahdi seized el Tóm, the head sheikh, and beheaded him. Many of the KABÁBÍSH sections then joined the Dervishes, but the NŪRÁB and some others retired into the deserts and defied them under Sáliḥ Bey Faḍlulla.

Ṣáliḥ Bey was killed near Gebel el 'Ain in 1887, and until the reoccupation the KABÁBÍSH practically ceased to exist as a corporate entity. Then, however, they collected in their deserts and took advantage of the unsettled state of affairs to raid the ḤAMAR and ZAYÁDÍA, their quondam foes, who had all been Dervishes, and so enormously increased their wealth in stock.

The present chief of the tribe, which is now richer than at any previous period, is 'Ali the son of the el Tóm beheaded in 1883.

XI To sum up: the KABÁBÍSH, for so long as anything is known about them at all, have been a widely distributed but coherent camel-owning congeries roaming the steppes between Dongola and Dárfūr. The chief difference between the tribe of the present day and that of the nineteenth and previous centuries is that it is less vexed by the competition of other tribes in its spacious grazing grounds.

The BENI GERÁR have been forced southwards and have become semi-sedentary. The DÁR ḤÁMID too have built villages in their own country to the south and only send a small proportion of their population to the grazing grounds of the KABÁBÍSH. The ZAYÁDÍA nomads are decimated in number: a few graze with the DÁR ḤÁMID in Kordofán; the rest are either sedentary or live in Dárfūr. The HAWÁWÍR are on fairly amicable terms with the KABÁBÍSH and graze almost where they will with them. Such raiding as is done is at the expense of the wild BEDAYÁT, ḴURA'ÁN and MÍDÓBIS of northern Dárfūr, and takes

[1] See Pallme and Parkyns. The latter says the Kabábísh of Kordofán were "taxed 2000 camels, which impost is now changed into the carriage of 4000 loads of gum from Al Obeid to Dongola," and also 100 horses, and 2000 dollars of 15*pt.* (collected not in cash but in smooth-paced riding camels assessed by the Turks at about a quarter of their real value), and a certain number of sheep and the price of fifty slaves. Sálim Faḍlulla, the head of the tribe, had met Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha in Khartoum in 1838–9 and obtained certain concessions, but they were of little real value. In 1858, according to Petherick (*Upper Egypt*, p. 328), the tribe's annual tribute to Egypt was 5000 camels.

place far to the north of the Wádi el Melik, in the cold winter months. So far from appearing to tend towards a more sedentary existence, the KABÁBÍSH, as their herds have increased under the Pax Britannica, have, if anything, become more universally nomadic[1].

## (*b*) THE MOGHÁRBA OR MOGHRABÍN

XII From the word "Moghrabi," the singular of Moghárba or Mograbín, through the Latin Maurus, has arisen the anglicized "Moor," and from "Moghrab el Aḳsá," "the extreme west," the name "Morocco." It must not, however, be assumed that all the MOGHÁRBA in Egypt or the Sudan came from Morocco: it is unlikely that any of them, a certain number of individuals of the merchant class excepted, did so.

The term was loosely applied during the time of the later Mamlūks and of Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha to all the Beduin tribesmen who lived west of Egypt. Take, for instance, the following from Burckhardt[2]:

> The temple of Ebsambal[3] serves as a place of refuge to the inhabitants of Ballyane, and the neighbouring Arabs, against a Moggrebyn tribe of Bedouins, who regularly, every year, make incursions into these parts[4]. They belong to the tribes which are settled between the Great Oasis and Siout. When they set out, they repair first to Argo, where they commence their predatory course, plundering all the villages on the western bank of the river; they next visit Mahass, Sukkot, Batn el Hadjar, Wadi Halfa, the villages opposite Derr, and lastly Dakke; near the latter place, they ascend the mountain, and return through the desert towards Siout. The party usually consists of about one hundred and fifty horsemen, and as many camel-riders: no one dares oppose them in Nubia; on the contrary the governors pay them a visit, when they arrive opposite to Derr, and make them some presents. The incursions of this tribe are one of the principal reasons why the greater part of the western bank of the Nile is deserted.

XIII It was from such MOGHÁRBA that the armies of Ismá'íl Pasha and of the Defterdár were largely recruited preparatory to the conquest of the Sudan[5]. That the Berber element was perhaps as strong as the Arab in these MOGHÁRBA will be clear from preceding chapters, but there is no reason on that account to consider the term "Arab"

[1] For a discussion of this point by a comparison of present conditions with those described by Parkyns in 1850, see my *Tribes*..., pp. 189 ff.

[2] *Nubia*, p. 92.

[3] *I.e.* Abu Simbel.

[4] Burckhardt notes elsewhere (p. lxxvii) "The Arabs who inhabit Thebes and the adjacent country, are originally Moggrebyns." See also Volney, *Travels*..., I, 76, 77.

[5] See Cailliaud, II, 50, 51. He defines them thus: "Les Arabes Mohgrebins sont ceux qui habitent la côte de Barbarie la plus rapprochée de l'Égypte."

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the "'*omda*" Fag el Nūr of the DESÍSÁB section, traces his descent through a series of Sayyids, including Aḥmad Zarrūḳ, to the Imám 'Ali in thirty-two generations, but there is no reason to assume that the tree is much better than a detailed fake[1].

The common tradition in the tribe is that they immigrated from the neighbourhood of Fez "some five hundred years ago," or "in the days of Sóba." They claim much of the rainland behind the village of Sóba to belong to them, and even allowing that it is with an eye to substantiating their claim to cultivation-rights that they desire to imply to a Government official that they are the earliest owners, and have been there since the days of the Christian kingdom of 'Aloa, there is nothing inherently improbable in their claim, and one has at least fairly good evidence, the biography of 'Abdulla Wad Ḥasóba el Moghrabi[2], that some of them have lived there since the sixteenth century. The darkness of their complexion proves a long sojourn in the south, and it is even possible that some of their ancestors were once the inhabitants of those hostels which Ibn Selim describes as inhabited by Muhammadans at Sóba towards the close of the tenth century A.D.[3]

XVI The main sections of the nomad MOGHÁRBA are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| KIBAYDLÁB<br>DERAYSÁB<br>ḤASÓBÁB[4]<br>'AḲRABÁB<br>'AWAḌULLÁB | Chiefly to the east of Khartoum | KERÁDÍS<br>SA'ABÁB<br>GIDAYÁB<br>FAṢÁLÁB<br>MIḲAYBALÁB | Chiefly in the Gezíra |
| 'AWLÁB<br>BAYYÁḌA<br>TURÁBIÍN<br>ḤASABULLÁB<br>KOḲALÁB | Between Abu Delayḳ and 'Alwán | FERAḤÁB<br>NŪRÁB<br>IRWAYḤÁB | Near Abu Delayḳ |

The camel-brand of these MOGHÁRBA is the "*timaysíḥ*," a horizontal line under the right eye. The word is the diminutive of "*timsáḥ*," a crocodile, and to the MOGHÁRBA the brand as described suggests a crocodile lying asleep on the river bank[5].

[1] Curiously enough Fag el Nūr himself has the sallow complexion and strikingly Jewish cast of countenance of a modern Moor. This may well be due to careful preservation of the blood of the ruling family from all contamination with purely Sudanese admixture.

[2] See D 3 36 and 141.

[3] See p. 171.

[4] *I.e.* descendants of the Wad Ḥasóba mentioned above.

[5] Compare the cases of the Hawáwír (Chap. 8) and Kabábísh who both include a section called "Tamásíḥ" ("Crocodiles").

### (*c*) THE ḤAMAR[1]

XVII The *nisbas* say little of the ḤAMAR, and that little is contradictory. One account[2] says they are a branch of BENI TAMÍM; another[3] that they are a mixture of BENI OMMAYYA, BENI 'ABBÁS, 'ANAG, ASHRÁF and FŪR; two others[4] say they belong to the GUHAYNA group.

The tradition among the GHARAYSÍA section of the tribe is that they are Ḥimyarites from el Yemen who migrated into the Sudan in the time of Ḥaggág ibn Yūsef, *i.e.* in the second half of the seventh century. They crossed the Red Sea, it is said, and settled first round Táka (*i.e.* Kassala): then they moved to the Blue Nile; and then, after awhile, to Dárfūr[5], where they took up a more permanent abode.

The story of their sojourn round Táka lends a certain support to the tradition—otherwise unsupported—of their connection with the ḤAMRÁN Arabs of that district[6]; and the coincidence between the name of their commonest camel-brand, the "*shabūl*," and that of the Shabūl section of the MANÁṢÍR—a tribe alleged by Sir C. Wilson to be related to the 'ABÁBDA—is a small piece of evidence in favour of their alleged movement from the direction of the Red Sea[7].

XVIII Our knowledge of their history in Dárfūr remains practically a blank until the beginning of the last century when they attained to a considerable power under the leadership of a certain el Ḥág Muna'am of the 'ASÁKIRA division[8]. It is not improbable that as a tribal entity they had hardly existed previously and that by origin they were simply a conglomeration of various Arabs who decided to colonize the almost well-less tracts where good crops can be grown, but where the chief water-supply is derived from melons and water stored in the hollow trunks of baobabs[9] during the rainy season. It is variously alleged among the ḤAMAR either that Mekki, the son, or Ibráhím el Meliḥ, the great-grandson, of el Ḥág Muna'am, was the first man to inaugurate the practice of hollowing the baobab and

[1] Much of the information here presented is taken from Chap. XII of *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*. But details have also been added from a short account of the Ḥamar compiled from their oral traditions by 'Abd el Wahháb Aḥmad 'Awadulla, headmaster of el Nahūd school in 1913.

[2] See D I XXVIII. [3] See D I CXLVIII.

[4] See BA LXXVIII and ABC LI. The Ḥamar are also found classed with the Baḳḳára.

[5] Dárfūr at that time comprised what is at present western Kordofán, *i.e.* the country west of el Nahūd. The Ḥamar were for long in the neighbourhood of Um Shanḳa on both sides of the present boundary. [6] See BA LXXVIII.

[7] So, too, the Beni Faḍl, who are closely related to the Manáṣír, contain a section called Ḥadárma (*i.e.* Ḥaḍáreb).

[8] Rüppell in 1824–5 met him ("Hadgi Minhim") in Kordofán (*Reisen...*, p. 148).

[9] The "*tubeldi*": *Adansonia digitata*.

using it as a reservoir, thus rendering habitable vast tracts hitherto useless[1]. But as a matter of fact one occasionally finds (more often in the west than in the east) an old tree in which the opening is differently placed to that usually made by the ḤAMAR, and the work is then attributed to the 'ANAG. On this, if on no other ground, one would suppose that the use of the baobab for water-storage is fairly ancient, but died out, and was revived by the ḤAMAR as the necessity arose for them to expand. As they progressed eastwards they certainly tapped virgin areas.

XIX As soon as the ḤAMAR became at all powerful they parted into two main divisions, the 'ASÁKIRA (*i.e.* "Soldiers") and the DEḴÁḴÍM, and very shortly afterwards—probably about the time of the Turkish conquest of Kordofán—the bulk of both moved eastwards as a result of quarrels with the other Arab tribes of eastern Dárfūr[2] and the insufficiency of their own territories there.

Those of them who stayed behind round Um Shanḳa and the districts now known as Dam Gamad[3] and Zernakh[4], etc., remained independent under Dárfūr[5].

The rest pushed eastwards, and the family of el Ḥág Muna'am settled more or less permanently round Farsháḥa[6], and that of the Sheikh of the DEḴÁḴÍM in Sheḳ el Dūd[7], farther to the west. But their people remained nomad between el Oḍaya and Fóga, and eastwards as far as Abu Ḥaráz and Gebel Abu Sinūn, and in the rains sought more distant grazing grounds along the Wádi el Melik with the KABÁBÍSH, BENI GERÁR, ZAYÁDÍA and DÁR ḤÁMID, and even raided as far east as the Bayūda desert[8].

The result was that every year in the rains and winter the ḤAMAR found themselves engaged in a series of petty inter-tribal raids and forays, which in their traditions are glorified under the name of wars[9].

[1] For many generations there have been wells at Um Shanḳa, but the country east of it was a desert until about the middle of the nineteenth century when the baobabs were exploited. There were no wells at el Nahūd until the Dervish epoch. The "*tubeldi*" in western Kordofán is usually called a "*ḥomraia*"—presumably because the bark has a pink-red sheen over it and the fibre has a dull brick colour. That the tribe especially concerned with these trees should be called "Ḥamar" (*i.e.* "red") is probably no more than a coincidence.

[2] Cp. Pallme, p. 142.

[3] Meaning "blood has clotted." Fights for "*tubeldis*," etc., were very frequent there.

[4] The name of a fly.

[5] Cp. Cuny, p. 190.

[6] Cp. Petherick, *Upper Egypt*..., p. 314, and Cuny, pp. 189–190.

[7] Literally "Lion's Valley."

[8] Cuny, p. 65.

[9] In the "war" with Dár Ḥámid, it is said, each side was accompanied by a poet who encouraged his own people by the recital of verses. The Ḥamar say maliciously that the men of Dár Ḥámid were so utterly destroyed that their women went round in a band to neighbouring tribes offering themselves in marriage at a reduced dowry, and only so kept the tribe in existence.

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- C. El Khamsát
  - 1. Mayámín
    - (*a*) Awlád Ṣubūḥ
    - (*b*) Budránía
  - 2. Menádír
  - 3. Gikhaysát[1]
    - (*a*) Um Haysin
    - (*b*) Awlád Dhiáb
    - (*c*) Abu Ḍán
    - (*d*) Meraḥíl
    - (*e*) Nás Muamar
  - 4. Menána
  - 5. Khayraysát
- D. El Tarádát
  - 1. Dáma'i
    - (*a*) Ṣubayḥát
      - (1) Nás Sóderi
    - (*b*) Gelada
    - (*c*) Tayáísa
      - (1) Awlád 'Ali
      - (2) Gawábra
      - (3) Nowara
      - (4) 'Abbásía
    - (*d*) Fawáḍil
    - (*e*) Ghanaymía[2]
      - (1) Nás Abu Gebel
      - (2) „ 'Ali
      - (3) „ Belál
      - (4) „ Gamū'a[3]
    - (*f*) Noayḳát
    - (*g*) Awlád Khaḍra
    - (*h*) 'Abádía
      - (1) Nás Abu Guma'a
      - (2) Gerayni

## II. El Deḳáḳím

- A. Wáílía[4]
  - 1. Nás Házil
  - 2. „ el Ḥurr
  - 3. „ Abu Ḥamaydán
  - 4. „ Ḥamír
  - 5. „ Ḥarūsh
  - 6. „ Ráḥa
  - 7. „ Abu 'Awín
  - 8. Abu Gemánín

[1] Originally Shenábla 'Awámra. [2] Originally Gawáma'a. [3] Cp. Gamū'ía.
[4] Said to be related to the Kawáhla, but not to be confused with the Wálía (*q.v.* D 3, 2 *note*). There are also Beni Wáil west of Dárfūr (see Carbou, II, 14).

B. Nás Abu Zayd
1. Nás Ṣári
(a) Nás Gabr
(b) Awlád Ṣubayḥ
2. Nás 'Abd el Salám
3. „ Faragulla
4. „ Abu Tenu
C. El Sha'ibát
D. Awlád Shadwán
E. „ 'Ámir
F. „ Bur'ás
G. „ Siháía
1. Nás el Ṣód
2. „ Feraywa
3. „ Ribayḥ
4. „ Abu Na'amir
5. „ Musellam
6. „ Khala
H. El Gema'anía
J. El Gharaga

## III. El Gharaysía

A. El Ḥadáḥda
1. Awlád Ḥammád
2. Awlád Um Buṭnayn
3. Dubūba
4. Awlád Sheríf
5. Awlád Nimr
6. Berá'ím
B. Awlád Shighán
1. Nás Ismá'íl
2. Um Kisayba
3. Nás Nuṣr
4. „ Abu Merákiḥ
5. „ Muḥammad
6. Ḥomrán
C. Awlád Guayd
1. Nás Abu Ḥigaywa
2. Nás Ṭurfa
3. Awlád 'Ádi
4. Habábísh
5. Nás Murmi
6. Sa'adía
7. Awlád Gábir
8. Nás Saḥáríf
D. El Ṣubaḥa[1]

[1] These are not Ḥamar by race, though subject to them. They are said to be Koróbát (see Chap. 8).

# CHAPTER 5

## *The Kawáhla Group*

### (*a*) THE KAWÁHLA[1]

I The KAWÁHLA are invariably connected in tradition with Zubayr ibn cl 'Awwám of the tribe of ḲUṢÁI, one of the first and most famous converts to Islam, slain at the "Battle of the Camel" in 656 A.D.[2]

There is no doubt that the nucleus of the tribe entered the Sudan by way of the Red Sea, but the period of their immigration is not known. They are first mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa as inhabiting the country round Suákin in 1353 and speaking the BEGA tongue[3].

It is common for such of the BISHÁRÍN and 'ABÁBDA as claim an Arab descent to speak of their tribes as descended from "Kahl," and the KAWÁHLA reciprocate by including the BISHÁRÍN and 'ABÁBDA, and sometimes even the BENI 'ÁMIR or UM 'AR'AR ("AMARAR"), under the term KAWÁHLA[4].

There can be little doubt that there is a strong Arab element common to all three tribes.

II At the present day the KAWÁHLA are widely distributed, but they fall into two main groups. The most important and united of these are the very rich nomad camel-owning tribe of Kordofán. Until the Dervish revolt these formed a branch of the KABÁBÍSH and had probably moved westwards and joined that tribe shortly before the Turkish conquest. It is improbable that they did so very much earlier, since, had they done so, they must in the course of years have become more firmly welded into the tribal whole, to the detriment of their own individuality, than was ever the case[5].

[1] *Sing*. Káhli.

[2] The name Káhil was not uncommon in Arabia. Wüstenfeld mentions five persons of this name. From one of them, Káhil ibn Asad, were descended the Káhilía (*q.v.* Abu el Fida, pp. 196–7), but there is nothing further to connect these with the Kawáhla now in the Sudan. The word "Kahala" (كهل) in the Sudan means "to clear out [a well]," *i.e.* to remove the muddy deposit at the bottom.

[3] See p. 188.

[4] Wilkinson (p. 386) and Tremaux (1, 169) respectively mention "Gowaléeh" and "Kawoali" among the chief divisions of the 'Abábda. In a list of these divisions by Mr Jennings Bramly I find the name as "Gawalia."

[5] The 'Aṭáwía section of Kabábísh are said to be Kawáhla by origin, but probably joined the Kabábísh long before the rest of the Kawáhla. In consequence they have become an integral part of the former tribe and did not leave it in the "*Mahdía*."

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it is noteworthy that they held the sheikhship of the whole tribe for two generations[1].

The DÁR ḤÁMID, who hold the sheikhship at the present day and are the wealthiest of all the sections, belong to the GUHAYNA group[2] and joined the KAWÁHLA after the advent of the latter to Kordofán.

These western KAWÁHLA spend the dry season (December to June) in the Khayrán near Bára, unless they have been able, by digging wells at Um Bádr, to defer their retirement south-east for another month or two. They graze their herds in the Khayrán and thereabouts free of payment, but as having no proprietary rights they are compelled to pay for the water they draw from the wells. Cultivation they have none[3]. When the rains fall the whole tribe moves north-westwards to the neighbourhood of the Wádi el Melik and remain there for so long as grass and water permit[4].

V The eastern KAWÁHLA are not composed of sections whose parentage is entirely distinct from that of the western group.

They divide the whole tribe into thirteen sections each descended from a different son of Káhil. However, the names of these thirteen sons vary to some extent[5] and it is useless to attempt an accurate grouping of the subdivisions under their names. The best known of the subdivisions are the following[6]:

{BERÁḲNA. Chiefly in Kordofán.
KAMÁLÁB
KIMAYLÁB. A small nomad group of these also lives in Berber district.
MARGHŪMÁB[7]. A section of these is with the SHUKRÍA near Abu Delayḳ. A few others are nomadic in Dámer district (Berber).

DELAYḲÁB[8]
ASÁWIDA
{ḤASÁNÍA[9]
GIMAYLÍA
GHAZÁLÁB
'URWÁB. On the White Nile, chiefly the west bank, south of the GAMŪ'ÍA.
ṢONAYṬÁB

[1] Gádulla Balilu in the Dervish days, and his son 'Abdullah after the reoccupation till 1910.

[2] See above, p. 256.

[3] The only Kawáhla cultivation west of the White Nile is that belonging to some sedentary 'Abábda and others in the White Nile Province.

[4] The colony of so-called Kawáhla in the Nūba mountains near Gebel Ḳedir are escaped slaves or freedmen and not true Kawáhla at all.

[5] See C 1 for the variations.

[6] The brackets give some indication as to which sections are most closely connected with one another.

[7] See D 2, XXVII and D 3, 74 ("Marḳūmáb").

[8] See *sub* Baṭáḥín.

[9] Dealt with separately: see later.

LABÁBÍS
ḤAMAYDÁNÍA
'AMRÍA
KERÁMÍA
GEBÁLÍA

BEDÁRIÍN. Chiefly in Kordofán and on the White Nile.
SHARÁ'ANA. Sedentary, in the Gezira.

'ABÁBDA[1]
BISHÁRIÍN[2]

'AṬÁWÍA. Now a section of the KABÁBÍSH.

YEZÍDÁB, or YEZÍDÍA, or BENI YEZÍD. A very small section. I once met a small encampment of them near 'Aydag living under the wing of the MESALLAMÍA of Um Dubbán.

NIFAYDÍA. Chiefly in Berber Province. Some are sedentary in the Gezíra.

FŪÁÍDA[3]
SHADÁÍDA
GHAZÁYA
SU'ŪDIA
KAWÁMLA

WÁLÍA[4]
GELÁLÍA
BÁḲÍA
KHALAFÍA
MUṬÁRFA

SALÁṬNA[3]
MUḤAMMADÁB
ḲURAYSHÁB
NOWÁRÁB[5]
RIMAYTÁB

BENI SA'ÍD
MUḤAMMADÍA. On both sides of the White Nile: a section rich in cattle and sheep.
AḤÁMDA

VI Some separate account must be given of two of the above divisions[6], namely, the AḤÁMDA and the ḤASÁNÍA.

[1] See above.
[2] Cp. the case of the 'Abábda.
[3] The names Fūáída and Saláṭna occur, together with the Gerába'a (for which cp. BA XCVII), as names of subtribes in the peninsula of Sinai: that of the first-named also among the semi-nomadic tribes of Arabs north of Aswán mentioned by Sir C. Wilson.
[4] See D 3, 2 *note*.
[5] Or "Nūráb."
[6] In the trees attached to C 1 will be found also the names of several smaller Kawáhla sections.

## (*b*) THE AḤÁMDA

The AḤÁMDA sometimes appear in the *nisbas* of the GA'ALIÍN group, and figure there as closely akin to the GAWÁMA'A and the GIMA'A[1]. The KAWÁHLA *nisba* shows them as KAWÁHLA[2]. The BAḴḴÁRA include them in their genealogies but evidently regard them as an inferior folk: the ḤUMR EELAITA, for instance, speak of "Aḥamda who was raped by a NŪBA" as ancestress of the AḤÁMDA.

The ḤAMMADA (RUFÁ'A) also claim the AḤÁMDA to be descended from the same ancestor as themselves. The most usually accepted oral tradition has it that Ḥammad, the ancestor of the AḤÁMDA, was a Káhli and that for some reason he denied his tribe and was therefore nicknamed "el Nuaykir" ("the little apostate").

The AḤÁMDA are a semi-nomadic tribe, some of whom are in the northern part of the Gezira, in the Blue or the White Nile Province, and to the east of the Blue Nile, while others are more sedentary and own a considerable tract of country to the west of the White Nile, south of Kosti[3].

Many of the AḤÁMDA are settled permanently in villages throughout the year; but the majority of the easternmost group, during the rains, push some distance eastwards to cultivate in the *wádis* between the river and the Buṭána and to graze their flocks. As the supplies of water in the *ḥafírs* and of grass diminish they retreat to the river. During this process quarrels usually arise between them and the ḤASÁNÍA and the BAṬÁḤÍN. Having finally returned to the vicinity of the Blue Nile these AḤÁMDA similarly quarrel with the MESALLAMÍA MAḤASS and others on analogous grounds.

They are, wherever found, but more particularly in the east, a small decadent and dirty type of Arab, owning a fair number of cattle, many sheep and goats, and a few small herds of camels. Some of the AḤÁMDA who are now under the White Nile Province were, in pre-Mahdist days, farther west and north and formed a section of the KABÁBÍSH[4], but the bond between the two tribes, which was never more than purely artificial and utilitarian, no longer exists, and except for a few individuals, there are no AḤÁMDA now in the steppes of northern Kordofán.

Others used to be mixed with the AWLÁD ḤAMAYD and other

[1] See BA and A 11.

[2] See C 1 (*a*) and (*b*).

[3] In 1814 there were some "Ḥamda" in Shendi district whom Burckhardt (*q.v.* p. 345) understood to be "acknowledged as relations by the Arabs of the same name who inhabit the neighbourhood of Luxor and Karnak in Upper Egypt; Luxor has hence received the name of el Hamdye."

[4] Cp. note on p. 312.

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# CHAPTER 6

## *The Kenána and Deghaym*

1 **Kenána.** The Kenána of the Sudan claim to be an offshoot of the great Kenána tribe of Arabia, and there is no reason to doubt that there is good foundation for their claim. But whether their Arab ancestors ever formed a branch of the Kenána whom we have already met in Egypt, or whether they immigrated quite independently by way of the Red Sea, is not certain: the latter supposition is the more probable and more in accord with their own traditions.

In the Sudan at the present day they are for the most part Baḳ-ḳára, breeders of cattle and horses, and are divided by the river into two main divisions. One of these, the larger, owns cattle camels and sheep and lives south of Singa and Sennár, on either side of the Blue Nile, with the Rufá'a group. In the rains these move northwards, out of the fly infested area, to the Buṭána on the one side and the Seḳadi Moya district on the other. They fall into the three groups of Serágía, Abu Ríḥán and Koátíl[1].

The other division of Kenána grazes in Kordofán with cattle and sheep over parts of the same country as the far more numerous Ḥawázma. A branch of them have also found their way south into the Shilluk country and have settlements on the west bank of the Nile as far south as the tenth parallel of latitude.

The main sections of the Kenána are given as follows by their tribesmen in Kordofán.

A. Sowáráb
   1. Awlád Yasín. Chiefly in the Gezíra.
   2. Zoayda
   3. Isayba'a. Chiefly in the Gezíra.

B. Serágía
   1. Awlád Dáli[2]. Chiefly in the Gezíra.
   2. Um Belál
   3. Awlád Roaya
   4. Zaydán
   5. Námía
   6. Ḥabaylía

   } Chiefly in the Gezíra.

[1] A subsection of the Bisharín ('Aliáb) of the Eastern Desert is also called Koátíl (plural of Katūl). The Serágía clearly correspond to the Serágáb section of Kabábísh, who claim to be of Kenána descent.

[2] Some of these live near Teḳali; others with the rest of the Kenána in Kordofán. The former have with them a few of the Sowáráb section also.

7. ABU RÍḤÁN
8. KOÁTÍL
9. GILAYRÁB
10. BAYLÁB

} Chiefly in the Gezíra.

C. AṢÁLA'A[1]

1. AWLÁD GUBERÁN
2. „ ḤUZÍL
3. SU'ŪDÍA
4. 'AMARÍA
5. AWLÁD RISHAYD

} Chiefly in the Gezíra. A few in Kordofán.

D. DA'ŪDÍA
   1. MANÁṢÍR
      (*a*) NÁS ḤAMDŪK

E. FAHRÍA
F. 'ALOWNA[2]

} Chiefly in the Gezíra.

II The tradition is that the ancestor of the KENÁNA[3]

was el Sayyid Aḥmad Zabad el Baḥr, a "feḳír" of Mekka, descended from Ḥamza the youngest son of the Prophet's grandfather 'Abd el Muṭṭalib. After his death one of his sons, Manṣūr, quarrelled with the other sons as to the succession and left Mekka for Egypt with his younger brother 'Abdulláhi. Hence he was nicknamed "El Hardán" (one who sulks and isolates himself). From Egypt Manṣūr passed up the Nile to the Sudan. The GAMŪ'ÍA...and the MAḤASS of Dongola each provided him with a wife and he begot six sons, Yasín, 'Ali Abu el Fahra, Ḥammad Aṣla'a, Sowár, Idris Serág and 'Alwán. These were the forefathers of the sections of KENÁNA now in the Sudan, excepting the DA'ŪDÍA who are descended from 'Abdulláhi.

The SERÁGÁB section of the KABÁBÍSH are also said to be descended from Idrís Serág....

The earliest KENÁNA arrivals in the Sudan are said to have settled finally at Gebel Kurun, south of Teḳali, and subsequently to have come into conflict with a party of KAWÁHLA settled in the neighbourhood, and to have driven them to the south. According to the KENÁNA "nisba" Manṣūr lived sixteen generations ago and seventeen generations after 'Abd el Muṭṭalib.

Thus it would seem that[4]

some KENÁNA emigrated from Arabia into Egypt about the beginning of the fourteenth century, and pushed their way up the river as far as Dongola, and there temporarily settled and intermarried, and later split into various sections, of whom a part went south with their kinsmen and a part eventually attached themselves to the KABÁBÍSH.

[1] Burckhardt mentions Aṣála'a ("Aszalé, الاصالع") in Wadái and west of it (*Nubia*, pp. 479–480).

[2] The same name occurs among the Kabábísh and the Beni Ḥelba.

[3] The following quotation is from my *Tribes...*, p. 168.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

III DEGHAYM. The pedigree of the DEGHAYM is not given in the *nisbas*, and in fact I have only once seen them mentioned, viz. in D 2.

In 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) Ibn Batūta crossed the desert between Ḳūṣ and 'Aidháb in the company of a party of DEGHAYM, but he tells us nothing of them[1].

Immediately before the "*Mahdía*" the tribe was living on the White Nile, and in 1881 they joined the Mahdi together with the KENÁNA[2], but they were all but exterminated at the battle of Abu Ṭlayḥ ("Abu Klea") in 1885, and they have never recovered.

[1] See Burckhardt, *Nubia*, p. 533 (دغيم).

[2] The famous "*amír*" 'Ali wad Ḥelu was one of their number. See Slatin, Ch. IV.

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as tax-collectors and minor officials. The headman of the DÓÁLÍB at el Ḥaráza was also recognized as holding an overlordship over the northern hills, and members of his family to the present day hold analogous positions at el Ḥaráza and as far west as the Kága hills.

III Other RIKÁBÍA have wandered to other parts of the Sudan: the people of Wad 'Ishayb, the 'ISHAYBÁB, on the Blue Nile near el Kámlín, for instance, claim descent from a Rikábi feki who settled there about the beginning of the seventeenth century[1]; but the main body remains in Dongola, and, owing to its alleged nobility of descent and the numerous holy men it has produced[2], is regarded with considerable respect. The mere Dongolawi who wishes to represent himself as of good birth normally chooses to call himself a Rikábi.

[1] A biography of 'Ali wad 'Ishayb is given in D 3 No. 60. There is a small nomadic group of 'Ishaybáb in Dámer district (Berber Province), but they are said to be a branch of the UM 'AR'AR.

[2] See D 3 Tree No. 1 and references therein.

# CHAPTER 8

## *The Hawáwír, Gellába Howára, Wáḥía and Koróbát*

I In an earlier chapter[1] some account has already been given of the career of the HOWÁRA Berbers who settled in Upper Egypt and became arabicized. We saw how in Burckhardt's time they were in occupation of both sides of the Nile and were still rich and prosperous[2]. Until the time of Muḥammad 'Ali they had been extremely powerful, owing chiefly to the excellence of their cavalry, and acknowledged no authority but that of their own chiefs. The family of the great chief Hamám Abu Yusef had "assumed the whole Government of Upper Egypt, south of Siout, and the Mamelouks had been obliged to cede it to them by treaty." Hamám also extended his authority into northern Nūbia "which he several times visited as far as Mahass[3]."

The rule of the HOWÁRA was, however, accused of being oppressive and extortionate[4], especially towards the Copts, many of whom were used as slaves, and shortly before Muḥammad 'Ali's accession the Mamlūks attacked Hamám and succeeded in defeating and killing him. But they were unable to subdue the tribe as a whole, and it remained powerful until after the fall of the Mamlūks, when Ibráhím Pasha finally crushed it. He is said to have slain 2000 of the HOWÁRA.

II **HAWÁWÍR**. The HAWÁWÍR nomads of Dongola Province belong to this stock and preserve the tradition of their Berber ancestry. They are a large and fairly rich tribe of camel-owners and in the rainy season move to the west and north-west with the KABÁBÍSH. Their main divisions are as follows[5]:

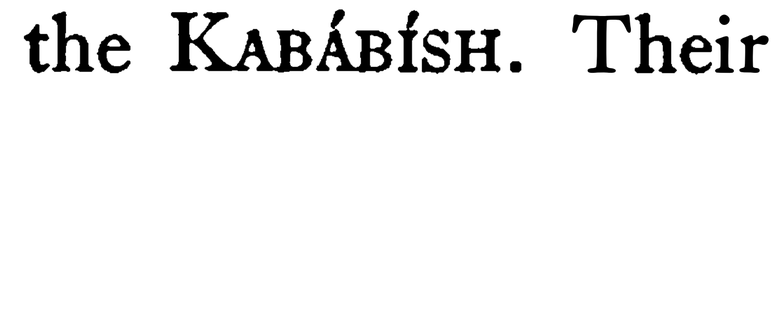
[1] Part II, Appendix to Chap. 1.

[2] Burckhardt, *Nubia*, App. III, pp. 531–533.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 135. Cp. Hamilton, p. 257. For other details see MS. D 4 IX.

[4] Denon, who accompanied Napoleon's expedition, on the contrary, heard of Hamám as a champion of the oppressed and of his time as a sort of golden age for the Arabs of Upper Egypt. They spoke "du temps du cheikh prince Ammam, où on ne traitoit pas d'impositions arbitraires, mais de ce qui pouvoit être le plus utile à tous." (*Voyages...*, I, 303.) MS. D 4 describes Hamám as farming out Nūbia in very cynical fashion.

[5] The camel brands of several of these divisions are well known, namely the *Lám Alif* (*a*) of the Rūbáb and the *'erik* (*b*) of the 'Abbásáb. But the most distinctive of all their brands is the *Kiláid mahgán* (*c*) which is used on the right side of the neck by most of the Hawáwír.



| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Ḥarárín | Hamásín | Tamásíḥ[1] |
| Muálka | Ṣálḥáb | 'Amráb |
| Rūbáb | Gótáb | Fakákín |
| Ḥobázáb | Fezáráb | 'Abbásáb |

III **Gellába Howára.** The Gellába Howára are more numerous in Dárfūr than in Kordofán. In the latter province they have villages between el Obeid and Bára and in Um Ruába district. The people of these relate that their ancestors came from Upper Egypt, and claim relationship with the Hawáwír. Their land they obtained from the Gawáma'a some eight to nine generations ago. In type they are very dark and degraded and entirely unlike the sallow Hawáwír of the north, who hold them in contempt. Their divisions in Kordofán are:

| |
|---|
| Kawámna |
| Adawía |
| Dikayráb |
| Awlád Kaysán |

From their title of "Gellába" it is likely that, as they state, they came originally as pedlars; and in Dárfūr the majority of them are engaged in trade at the present day or live close to the capital, el Fásher. These latter, like their relatives in Kordofán, still remember their Upper-Egyptian origin. The chief branch of them is the Wáḥía.

IV **Koróbát.** The Koróbát are generally reckoned so cognate to the Gellába Howára as to be all but identical with them. They are confined to the western Sudan, Kordofán and Dárfūr that is, and the greater part of them are settled in north-western Dárfūr near the Ḳimr border.

Nachtigal tells us that they at one period inhabited Dár Ḳimr and were driven thence by the Fūr[2]. Both he[3] and Barth[4] include them also among the "Arabs" of Wadái, and the former states they claimed to be of Yemenite stock. At the present day those in Dárfūr allege a descent from the Beni Shayba of Arabia. Their subdivisions they give as:

| |
|---|
| Abu Um Bukr |
| Awlád el Feki |
| „ Abu Ámna |
| „ Finei' |
| „ Maskín |

[1] The word means "crocodiles." Compare the tribal brand of the Moghárba on the Blue Nile, also of Berber extraction (p. 318).

[2] *Sah. und Sudan*, III, 455, *ap.* Carbou, II, 94.

[3] *Ibid.* III, 71.

[4] III, 545.

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# CHAPTER 9

## *The 'Abábda*[1] *and Kerrárish*

I The 'ABÁBDA are a tribe of Upper Egypt, but as they have several branches in the Sudan some brief account of them will be given.

As being neighbours of the BISHÁRÍN and having intermarried with them they have naturally come to be considered as of the same original stock, but the 'ABÁBDA have very much more of the Arab in their composition than have any of the BEGA races[2] and in fact probably represent the Arabs who were settled in the Thebaid before the final Muhammadan conquest of the Sudan. The 'ABÁBDA in Shendi district told Burckhardt that they and the 'ABÁBDA of Egypt were all descended from "Selman, an Arab of the BENI HILÁL[3]." There is no reason compelling one to deny their connection with that tribe; and they appear also to have intermarried, as one would expect, with the AWLÁD KANZ[4].

Their northern limit is roughly the Kena-Ḳuṣayr road, and the greater part of the tribe frequents the country east of Luxor Diráw and Aswán, and the northern Atbai[5].

II The 'ABÁBDA are divided into three main groups, the 'ASHABÁB, the FUḲARA and the 'ABŪDIÍN or SHINÁTÍR[6]. The 'ASHABÁB is the largest and most powerful of these divisions, and both it and the 'ABŪDIÍN-SHINÁTÍR group are practically confined to Egypt[7].

Of the FUḲARA the best-known branch is the MILAYKÁB, many of whom are within the Sudan boundary, though there are others of them over the border and round Diráw[8].

[1] The word "'Ababda" is a plural formed from "'Abádi." "'Abádi" also means a Nestorian Christian (see el Mas'ūdi, ed. Sprenger, pp. 247, 251).

[2] Cp. Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae...*, p. 5. Such 'Abábda as speak To-Bedowi have learnt it from the Bisharin. Quatremère (II, 158) thought them probably "descendants of the ancient Bega."

[3] *Nubia*, p. 345.

[4] Burckhardt says (*loc. cit.* p. 145) of the Kenūz, *i.e.* the modern modified form of Awlád Kanz, "They frequently intermarry with the Arabs Ababde." Belzoni (*Narrative...*, pp. 304–313) says the 'Abábda "never intermarry with any of their own people."

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 148 *et seq.* and map, and *A. E. Sudan*, p. 93. Belzoni (1815) speaks of them (*loc. cit.*) as extending from near Suez to "the Bishariin, on the coast of the Red Sea, below the latitude of 23°."

[6] Some call the Shinátír a section of the 'Abūdiín and others call the 'Abūdiín a section of the Shinátír. "Shinátír" in Himyaritic means earrings.

[7] Burckhardt (p. 149) mentions individuals of the 'Ashabáb ("Ashabát") as having settled on the Nile in Nūbia and intermarried with the inhabitants.

[8] Diráw is the nominal headquarters of 'Abd el 'Aẓím Bey el Khalífa, the best known of the 'Abábda sheikhs, but he frequently resides at Berber. Cp. Burckhardt, pp. 211 and 345.

It is this branch which from time immemorial has controlled the camel transport over the Buṭn el Ḥagar between Korosko and Abu Ḥammad and has thereby become wealthy[1]. A few 'ASHABÁB and 'ABŪDIÍN live with them.

There is also a considerable colony of 'ABÁBDA, of a stock much mixed with the GA'ALIÍN elements among which they live[2], based on el Ḥósh, a few miles west of Shendi. They number some 850 men and own perhaps 2000 camels and 33,000 sheep and goats.

Until the second decade of the nineteenth century other 'ABÁBDA were settled at Dongola, "where they had acquired great wealth and influence[3]": these latter were compelled by the immigrant Mamlūks to retire to Egypt.

## THE ḲERRÁRÍSH

III Connected with the 'ABÁBDA, though remotely, are the ḲERRÁRÍSH. A portion of these were until lately in Upper Egypt[4], but most of them graze their camels and flocks in the deserts west of Dongola and south of the latitude of Ḥalfa. Others have long been settled on the Nile, more particularly to the south of the MAḤASS country and on Arḳo Island.

"These Bedouin, a remote branch of the Ababde," says Burckhardt[5] in 1813, "pasture their cattle on the uninhabited banks of the river, and on its islands, from Derr southwards, as far as Mahass and Dongola, where they are said to be more numerous than in Nubia. They are poor...but, notwithstanding their poverty, they refuse to give their daughters in marriage to the Nubians, and have thus preserved their race pure....The Kerrarish are, for the most part, in the service of the governors of Nubia, to whom they are attached as a corps of guards, and guides, and accompany them in their journeys through their dominions....They are a very honest and hospitable people."

Others, he adds, worked as guides to merchants or made a living by collecting *senna* and nitre from the deserts.

[1] Ismá'íl Pasha had 700 of them as irregulars with him in the expedition of 1821. Cailliaud (*q.v.* II, p. 51) characterizes them as the worst soldiers in the army; accustomed rather to trade and guide than to fight.

[2] They contain Ḥasánáb, Magádhíb, Sulaymánía, Kanzáb, Ḥaríráb, Bisháráb, Mukábiráb, etc.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 67.

[4] There are also "Ḳerársha" near Tór in the Sinai Peninsula, subdivided into Naṣírát and Awlád Tíbi (see Na'ūm Bey, *Hist. Sinai...*, pp. 112–3).

[5] *Nubia*, pp. 30, 31.

# CHAPTER 10

## *The Ḳerriát*

I The Ḳerriát form a small camel-owning tribe, the members of which at present rank as nomad Arabs and do not obviously differ in type from their western neighbours the Kabábísh and Hawáwír.

The name "Ḳerriát" does not, however, appear in the *nisbas* and the tribe seems to be really a heterogeneous collection of Arabs grafted upon some more ancient stock.

Their grazing-grounds have always been, and are still, west and north of Omdurman, to the east of the Wádi el Muḳaddam; but in practice they go farther westwards in the rainy season, and a few of them remain throughout the year as far inland as el Ṣáfia. None of them are sedentary or own any land upon the river.

Their name suggests that the substratum upon which the tribal edifice was reared were dwellers round Gebel Ḳerri, the ancient seat of the 'Abdulláb near the Shablūka cataract, and the common statement, which has also been volunteered to me by Ḳerriát themselves, to the effect that they are 'Anag by origin, bears out this view[1]. Their chief sections are the 'Adálín, the Miḥaymidáb and the Ṣonayṭáb.

II They are wont to intermarry largely with the Hawáwír, and it is noticeable that the most distinctive camel brand used by the latter is practically identical with that placed by the Ḳerriát on their she-camels[2].

[1] At the same time such Ḳerriát as I have questioned on the point deny any connection between the names "Ḳerri" and "Ḳerriát."

[2] The Hawáwir brand referred to is the *ḳiláid maḥgán*, viz. III, on the right side of the neck (see MacMichael, *Camel Brands...*, p. 31). The Ḳerriát place the *ḳiláid* in the same place, but only on she-camels, in the form III.

As I gave no account of the Ḳerriát brands in the work referred to above, I may add them here.

1. The 'Adálín. (*a*) *On males:* a short *sóṭ* above the *thifina*, a *shurába*, and a *khurus*, all on the right. On the left a *ḳuṭfa* and a *zaiayt* (or *zalat*). (*b*) *On females:* the *ḳiláid* as described, a *shurába*, and a *sóṭ*, all on the right.

2. The Miḥaymidáb. (*a*) *On males:* a *khurus* on the left; and on the right a *duḳḳa* on the neck, a *fera'a* (*i.e.* tip of ear cut off), and a *dámi'*. All or any of these marks is used. (*b*) *On females:* the *ḳiláid* as described: some add a *dámi'*.

3. The Ṣonayṭáb. (*a*) *On males:* a *dámi'* and a *sóṭ* on the right. (*b*) *On females:* the *ḳiláid* as described, and a *fera'a*, a *dámi'* and a *sóṭ*, all on the right.

*N.B.* A *khurus* is a horizontal cut half-way down the edge of the ear.

A *zalayt* or *zalat*, is a brand made round the back of the ear just above the base.

The meaning of the other technical terms used will be found in *Camel Brands*....

The fact that the one brand which is common to the whole tribe, and which may therefore be called the tribal brand proper, is placed not on males but on females may well be a relic of a matrilinear period.

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To acquire rich lands on the river bank and intermarry with the numerous subtribes of GUHAYNA who pastured their flocks inland and cultivated a rain-crop in the *wádis* was an easy step. The same process has been seen at work in northern Kordofán, where immigrant DANÁGLA took advantage of the nomad Arabs' ignorance of artificial irrigation and contempt for manual labour, except in so far as it might be done by their slaves, to acquire a hold over all the best basins of the Khayrán at the expense of the DÁR ḤÁMID. The MAḤASS in the same way forestalled the RUFÁ'A on the Blue Nile. In both cases the result has naturally been some degree of jealousy and dispute.

III Though these MAḤASS are essentially and always sedentary they divide themselves theoretically, and on the Arab model, into subtribes. Such are the following; all of whom are emigrants by origin, living south of Berber Province:

1. GHARDAḲÁB[1] (*a*) MUḤAMMADÁB } On Tūti Island, at 'Aylafūn, Be-
   (*b*) BARAKÁT } shákira East, Shigla and Elti.
2. ṢUBÁḤÁB (*a*) DAKHALÁB. At H. el Nūba.
3. 'ÓNÁB. At Beshákira West, and on the site of Khartoum before that town was built by Khūrshid Pasha.
4. MIKINÁB. On Tūti Island
5. KHÓGALÁB[2]. At el Ḳubba and on Tūti Island.
6. WAWISSI[3]. In Ḳayli district, north of Khartoum.
7. GENNA EL ḤÁG. In the Gezira.
8. AWLÁD FELLÁTA. At Kutráng.
9. AWLÁD MANÍ'A. At el Rekayba.

## APPENDIX ON CERTAIN BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BLUE NILE

SOME of the burial customs in vogue on the lower Blue Nile may be of Nūbian (BARÁBRA) origin and due to the settlements of Maḥass in those parts. They are not used by the FUNG. Beckett (*Cairo Scient. Journ.* No. 59, Aug. 1911) in an article on "Nubia and the Berberine" says that after the burial and the filling in of the grave there is feasting for seven days and that the feast is again repeated after forty days, "and this time all who come bring with them pebbles gathered from the desert around. Over these pebbles the Koran is read by the Sheikh of the village and each person then deposits those he brings on the grave, which is completely covered with them." Pots of water are put near the heads of the graves and replenished by the relatives of the deceased, and near the pots are stuck palm branches.

On the Blue Nile, round el Kámlín, *burmas* of water are similarly

[1] Idrís wad Arbáb's section.
[2] *I.e.* descendants of Khógali 'Abd el Raḥmán (D 3, No. 154).
[3] A large sub-tribe.

placed by the graves and kept full for a few weeks after the burial. Afterwards they are apt to get forgotten. The natives gave two explanations of the custom: one, that it would be counted in God's sight to the merit of the deceased that the birds should quench their thirst at these *burmas*; the second, that the presence of the water would alleviate the oppressive heat of the tomb.

As regards the placing of pebbles on the grave, the custom maintains, but with important variations. Three instances may be quoted.

1. At H. Nūba. (Between el Kámlín and Khartoum. Population MAḤASS, GA'ALIÍN, 'ÁÍDÁB, ḤUḌŪR, KAWÁHLA, RUFÁ'A and SHABÁRḴA.) The cemetery was on the same site as that of the ancient inhabitants. In every case the graves of the present generation were covered with small rounded yellow pebbles, excepting the graves of newly buried persons. Asked the reason of this exception the villagers stated that seven months must always elapse after the burial before the placing of the stones on the grave. If unavoidable circumstances prevented this being done on the exact day it could be done after nine months instead of after seven. If not done after nine months it was too late to do it at all. To do it, *e.g.* after eight months, would be useless and wrong. The stones must not be spread on the grave by men or boys or girls (virgins) but only by the married women of the village. Fekis took no part in the ceremony and there were no particular rites to be observed and no concomitant festivities. The custom was said to apply to all the villages in the neighbourhood.

2. At H. Kutráng. (About five miles from H. Nūba on the opposite bank of the river. Population RUFÁ'A. Village of MAḤASS a mile or so away.) Questioned as to the custom of sprinkling pebbles on their graves the people said these were placed on the grave at the expiration of either seven or nine months, neither more nor less. The ceremony was invariably performed by the old women only: at 'Aylafūn it was done by the men, but nowhere else that they knew of. It took place at sunrise. The nearest relative of the deceased would be expected to provide some grease (*diḥn*) for the old women and to kill a sheep as *keráma* for them. The old women carried out the duty light-heartedly and laughingly, all working together. The same evening the sheep would be eaten and a *faṭḥa* recited. The villagers would all contribute corn from their own stores for this feast. If a man were so poor that he could not afford to hold this feast he would not have the stones put on the grave.

3. At 'Aylafūn. (Between Khartoum and H. Nūba. Population MAḤASS claiming descent from the religious sheikh Idrís Arbáb, *q.v.* in D 3.) The people here said their custom was to sprinkle pebbles on the graves after seven months, or failing that after nine, or failing that after eleven. If not done after eleven months it was too late. The ceremony was performed by the men and not by the women.

# CHAPTER 12

## *The Ḥamrán*

I The Ḥamrán Arabs are a very small community living near the Abyssinian border, but they have become well known on account of Sir Samuel Baker's description of them. He met these "mighty hunters with the sword" on the Setít River in 1861 and describes vividly their surpassing courage and dexterity in the chase of the elephant.

The earliest notice of them, however, is that of Bruce in the preceding century[1]. He does not mention them by name but his description of them and the application to them of the name *agágír*, elephant-hunters, by which they are still known, establishes their identity. He speaks of them as having regular ("European") features and non-woolly hair and being "very swarthy[2]." They were deadly foes of the Shangalla tribes.

Mansfield Parkyns calls them[3] "a tribe of Bishàry origin, which still uses the Hadendàwy language, like its mother race. They may almost be considered a subtribe of Bisharin, for there is no separation between them."

Baker says[4]: "The Hamran Arabs are distinguished from the other tribes by an extra length of hair, worn plaited down the centre and arranged in long curls." They carried round shields of rhinoceros hide.

II They were never a large tribe and their habitat has always been the banks of the Setít near its junction with the Atbara. At the present day they probably number only a few hundred souls: the majority were killed by the Dervishes. The survivors still bear the reputation of being as great Nimrods as their fathers were, and they boast themselves to be purer Arabs than any of the surrounding tribes.

III They claim to have immigrated from the Ḥegáz and to be of noble lineage. If the MS. "D 6" is to be trusted they are by origin an offshoot of the Ḥarb. "BA," though giving no details, simply classes them[5], with the Ḥamar, in the Guhayna group, and this latter, as there has been frequent cause to remark, is much mixed with that of the Ḥarb.

[1] Vol. VI, Bk. VIII, p. 228.

[2] Baker, *Nile Tributaries...*, p. 174, also notes their swarthiness. Parkyns calls them "deep bronze."

[3] *Life in Abyssinia*, II, 404. [4] *Loc. cit.* pp. 167–168. [5] See para. LXXVIII.

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name from the Gebadei, who are mentioned by Pliny as a tribe living on the west shore of the Red Sea in the first century A.D.[1]

III The brand of the ZEBAYDÍA camels is a curious one, namely placed upon the quarter. It is known both in the east and the west of the Sudan, and it is identical, but for the dot, with the brand still used by certain of the BENI ṢAKHR of Arabia[2].

The camels of the ZEBAYDÍA are also of a very distinctive type, easily recognizable. They are a small, thick-set, dark brown, tun-bellied, short-legged, hardy type and considerably valued for transport work.

### (*b*) THE ḤAḌÁREB AND ḤUḌŪR

IV ḤAḌÁREB. The name of these people is variously spelt ḤAḌÁREB, ḤAḌÁRBA, ḤAḌÁRMA, or with a D in place of the Ḍ, and the *nisbas* unite in saying they came from the Ḥaḍramaut in the early days of Islam and settled among and coalesced with the BEGA tribes on the Red Sea coast in the vicinity of Suákin[3]. Further particulars are scarce, and the above merely sums up what is known of their origin. The following is Burckhardt's account of them[4]:

The inhabitants of Souakin, like those of all the harbours in the Red Sea, are a motley race; one principal class, however, is conspicuous; the forefathers of the chief families of the Arabs of Souakin were natives of Hadramout, and principally of the town of Shahher, the harbour of that country in the Indian ocean. They came hither according to some, about a century ago; others state that they arrived soon after the promulgation of Islam; it is from them that the collective population of the town has obtained the name of Hadherebe with foreigners; but the inhabitants themselves draw a strict line of distinction between the true Hadherebe, or descendants of the natives of Hadramout, and the other settlers, whom they term Souakiny.

In a note Burckhardt adds:

The people of Hadramout are famous for emigrating; large colonies of them are found in all the towns of the Yemen and Hedjaz. The greater part of the people of Djidda, and the lower class of the inhabitants of Mekka, are from the same country.

The government of Suákin, when Burckhardt visited it, was in the hands of the "Emir of the Hadherebe," who was chosen from among the five patrician ("Artayga") families of the tribe. He was nominally dependent on the Pasha of Jedda and had little or nothing to do with the affairs of the tribe, being chiefly concerned with col-

[1] Pliny, Bk. VI, para. 33. Cp. Crowfoot, *Some Lacunae...*, p. 3. The root of the word is the same as that of *zibda*, the Arabic for butter.

[2] See Burckhardt, *Notes...* I, 199 and Zwemer, p. 279.

[3] See in particular A 2, XXXVIII and D 6, LI. [4] *Nubia*, pp. 433–5 and 449.

lecting customs dues. The tribe was administered by its own sheikh and was on bad terms with all the BEGA tribes of the interior.

Earlier in the same work Burckhardt, speaking of Shendi, says[1]:

The most substantial of all the traders who at present frequent the Shendy market are the people from Souakin, or as they are more commonly called in this part of Africa, the Hadharebe, or Hadharame, that is, people of Hadremaut, in South Arabia, from whence they draw their origin.

He notes in addition that the caravans of the ḤAḌÁRBA also visited Sennár and el Obeid.

V The ḤAḌÁREB are great travellers, and more of them have wandered eastwards from Ḥaḍramaut to Java and India than westwards to Africa. Zwemer says:

Large colonies of Hadramis emigrated to the Dutch Archipelago more than a century ago; intermarriage between the Javanese and the Arabs is very common; and the Mohammedanism of the Dutch East Indies is entirely of the Hadramaut type[2].

VI ḤUḌŪR. The name BENI ḤUḌŪR appears in el Mas'ūdi[3] as that of an ancient and powerful people of Arabia of unknown origin and locality, to whom, on account of their iniquity, God sent a prophet in the Days of Ignorance. Him they put to death, but the prophet Baruch then applied to Bokht Náṣir (Nebuchadnezzar) who attacked them and destroyed them.

The term ḤUḌŪR, as used at present, expresses little more than Arab traders from outside the Sudan. At Nūba village (Blue Nile) there are some who are said to be HOWÁRA by descent, and there are others at Elti and elsewhere on the Blue Nile. The town of Arbagi, before its destruction by the SHUKRÍA, is said to have been peopled by ḤUḌŪR, and its founder, Ḥegázi ibn Ma'in, the ancestor of the GELÍLÁB of Wad Ráwa, is usually called a Ḥaḍari instead of being connected with the GUHAYNA group to which his descendants have attached themselves[4].

To the same group, therefore, may belong the DÁFIRÍA, DEKINÁB, FUḴADÁB, FÁRISÁB, GÁRÁB, ḴERINGÁB and such other small indeterminate communities in the same neighbourhood as are alleged by the GELÍLÁB to be descended from the same stock as themselves, namely from that of Ḥegázi ibn Ma'in.

It seems more than probable, as their name suggests, that the real ḤUḌŪR are merely ḤAḌÁREB under a variant designation, though the term has come to be used colloquially in a wider and vaguer sense.

[1] *Nubia*, p. 319. [2] *Arabia...*, p. 77. [3] Ch. XLVII, Vol. III, pp. 304 ff.
[4] See B 1 and Tree. The Sheikh who gave me the MS. of B 1 said the Gelíláb belonged to the Ḍubánía branch of Guhayna, a statement borne out neither by tradition nor his own pedigree.

*END OF VOLUME I*

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